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In Memoriam

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A purpose of the Augusta County Historical Society is to publish *Augusta Historical Bulletin* to be sent without charge to all members. Single issues are available at \$3.00 per copy.

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Life Membership	\$125.00
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THE EVOLUTION OF TRANSPORTATION IN VIRGINIA*

By Howard Newlon, Jr., Associate Head
Virginia Highway & Transportation Research Council

INTRODUCTION

Americans undoubtedly make up mankind's most mobile society; and the history of America is, in many respects, the history of its transportation. The evolution of the various modes of transportation comprises an interesting but incompletely documented story.

Prior to the advent of the automobile, which replaced horse-drawn vehicles in the twentieth century, transportation in the second half of the nineteenth century was dominated by the railroads, and before that by canals.

Many of the highways which today extend throughout the commonwealth extend also back in time along turnpikes, plank roads, post and stage roads, and Indian paths from which the view progressively changed from that of primeval forest and Indian hut to log cabin and burgeoning town. Transportation in the New World literally began in Virginia, which was the site of the Nation's first bridge (ca. 1611), first highway law (1632), and first state Board of Public Works (1816) to oversee all forms of internal improvements and transportation.

Transportation in Virginia prior to the creation of the Virginia Department of Highways in the early years of the twentieth century can be divided conveniently into four periods. Any such division is somewhat arbitrary, but the four-period classification reflects the influences of significant changes in political or technological factors that greatly influenced the development of transportation.

The first division, characterized as settlement and growth, is bounded by the settlement at Jamestown and the period immediately following the War of Independence. It begins with the improvement of crude Indian paths and bridges as described by Captain John Smith. Although the end of this period could be defined as either (1776) the beginning of the war or (1781) the end of the war. (1782) the year following the war is selected

Presented as a program at the FALL 1979 Meeting of the Society.

because in this year the General Assembly enacted a statute for a general survey of roads through the Blue Ridge. This action officially recognized a critical need to develop transportation connections between eastern Virginia and the Alleghenies, a need which was to influence significantly subsequent transportation policy.

The second division, one of experimentation, continued until the year prior to the creation of the Board of Public Works in February 1816. The board was created to answer Virginia's need for better land and water transportation through canals, railroads, turnpikes, and bridges, and it was the first such body in the New World. Also, in 1815, the newly organized Committee of Roads and Internal Navigation of the General Assembly issued a report which illustrated some of the construction problems faced by the local county road surveyor. This period would be characterized as one of experimentation, with a gradual evolution of state rather than county control.

The formation of the Fund for Internal Improvement and the Board of Public Works in 1816 signaled the beginning of the third period, which was characterized by expansion with greatly improved technology, increased large-scale projects such as turnpikes, and a general expansion of transportation funding and construction. It was during this period that Laommi Baldwin, Jr., Thomas Moore, and Claude Crozet, who successively held the position of principal engineer, greatly influenced the technology of transportation in Virginia. This period ended with the Civil War, during which bridges, roads, railroads and canals were destroyed over a huge area. The separation of what is now West Virginia removed a large area which had been a pivotal point about which much of the state's transportation policy, as well as much controversy about it, had revolved. The end of the war thus seems a reasonable end point for this period.

The period of reconstruction (1866-1906) is not as well documented by serious studies as are the three preceding ones. However, many structures built during the period are still in service. This was obviously a period of reconstruction of transportation facilities within the broader era of Reconstruction. The Civil War, for the most part, ended the turnpike era, and the continued importance of railroads as evidenced by the creation in 1877 of the post of railroad commissioner, did not encourage significant expansion of roadways. Great floods in 1870 and 1877

brought an end to the James River and Kanawha Canal, the major component of Virginia's transportation system.

The Board of Public Works and the post of railroad commissioner were dissolved in 1902 and their duties transferred to the State Corporation Commission. In 1906 the Virginia Highway Commission was formed, as the automobile was recognized as the mode of the future.

SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH 1607-1782

When the settlers landed at Jamestown, they encountered a primitive transportation system consisting of the abundant natural waterways of the Tidewater and paths cut by the Indians. Since horses were not introduced into Virginia until two years later, the trails or paths made by the Indians were rudimentary, needing to accommodate only pedestrian traffic. This does not imply that these paths were haphazard or transitory. In fact, there were various classes of paths, just as there are roads today serving interstate as well as local needs.

Two paths that were the forerunners of important interstate roads were the Great Indian Warpath and the Potomac Path. The former led from Creek County, Alabama, northward to the Great Lakes region of Pennsylvania and New York. Its eastern branch ran through the Shenandoah Valley between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny Mountains, and by about 1750 it had developed into the Great Waggon Road, by which the Valley was connected to Philadelphia. The Potomac Path, the forerunner of the strategic US 1, followed the Fall Line from near Fairfax to Petersburg, but it is not extensively documented.

In addition to paths, the Indians built bridges if necessary. Captain John Smith, in recounting a visit to Powhatan's village in 1607, described the bridge building of the Indians.

Based upon a letter written by Sir Thomas Dale on May 25, 1611, the first bridge built by the settlers was not a stream crossing but a wharf extending from the bank about 200 feet into the nearby channel. This was referred to in a later account (about 1625) as "A framed Bridge, which utterly decayed before the end of Sir Thomas Dale's government (1625), that being the only bridge (any way so to be called) that was ever in the country."

Even at this time, across the mountains to the west stood the first bridge in Virginia (and perhaps the world). When the

Natural Bridge of Virginia was first seen in early colonial times by a white man, an ancient path (perhaps the Great Indian Warpath) traversed its deck surface. This in due time, like the other trails, evolved to a bridle path, and before the time of the American Revolution, about 1745, a road that is now US 11 had come into use.

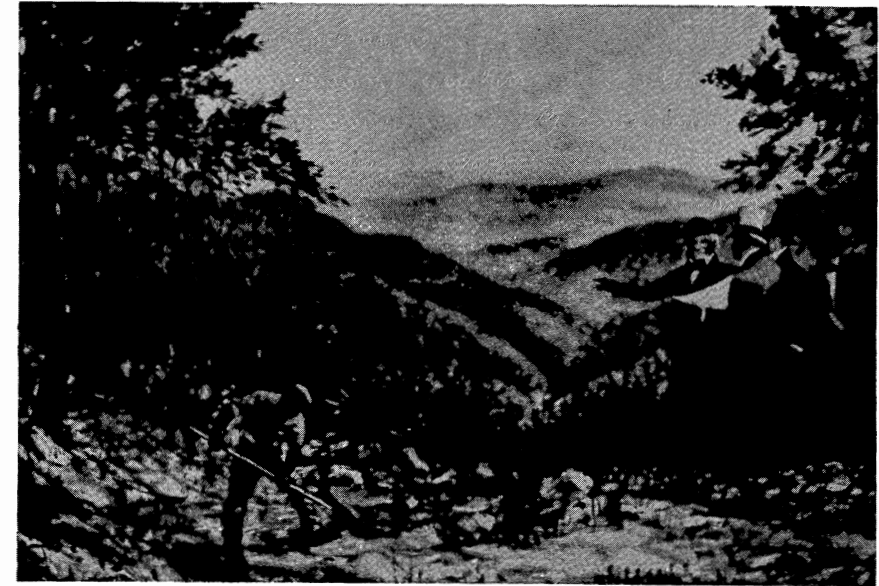


Figure 1. Artist's conception of Crozet supervising construction of Northwestern Turnpike.

(Courtesy: Federal Highway Administration)

The development of roadways in eastern Virginia subsequent to the Jamestown settlement was influenced by the need to move the main money crop, tobacco, and by the abundant and magnificent waterways of the Tidewater and Piedmont. Roads were needed primarily as connecting links to the rivers, and consequently a great many bridges, ferries, and causeways had to be provided. The importance of roads was recognized by the 1632 Assembly with the passage of the first highway law in the New World. This law, with the epitome of simplicity, said in its entirety: "Highways shall be layd out in such convenient places as are requisite accordinge as the Governor and Counsell or the commissioners for the monthlie costs shall appoynt, or accordinge as the parishoners of every parish shall agree."

As passed and subsequently modified through the years, the law directed that each court was to see that "convenient wayes" were constructed to churches, to the county courts, to Jamestown, and from county to county. The first colonywide levy was taken in 1691 as a military effort "for better defense of the country" against incursions of the Iroquois. Thus, the concept of blending peacetime requirements with those necessary for national defense, a concept that much later appeared in the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, authorized in 1956, has a long tradition in the United States.

It was during this initial period that the two formidable physical barriers profoundly influenced the extension of transportation facilities. These were the Fall Line and the mountains of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies. The Fall Line, an obstacle to navigation, was not overcome until the construction of the Great Falls Canal and the 3½ mile James River Canal at Richmond in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Blue Ridge Mountains separated the populous and politically powerful eastern Virginia from the rapidly developing but comparatively isolated Shenandoah Valley and the trans-Allegheny region. The problems of communications between eastern and western Virginia not only occupied a large portion of the efforts of those charged with the responsibility for transportation in the commonwealth, but were in large part the cause of the separation of what is now West Virginia in the 1860's.

In the mid-eighteenth century, from the Valley of Virginia, two market areas were available: the distant city of Philadelphia via the Great Waggon Road, and the closer eastern ports that lay over the mountains via the Three Notch'd Road to Richmond. Much trade found its way to Philadelphia, but pressures to build roads over the mountains led in 1748 to the first enactment by the General Assembly of specific and local road legislation of a nonmilitary nature. This statute enabled the court of Prince William County to make a levy of tobacco on its inhabitants to raise sufficient funds for clearing a road from Pignut Mountain, in modern Fauquier County, to the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap. This act marked the beginning of special petitions from local groups for roads through the Blue Ridge and was a significant step in the competition for trade between the two areas of Virginia.

Road construction during the period prior to the War of Independence was succinctly described by Jefferson in 1785.

"The roads are under the government of the county courts, subject to be controlled by the general court. They order new roads to be opened wherever they think them necessary. The inhabitants of the county are by them laid off into precincts, to each of which they allot a convenient portion of the public roads to be kept in repair. Such bridges as may be built without the assistance of artificers, they are to build. If the stream be such as to require a bridge of regular workmanship, the county employs workmen to build it at the expense of the whole county. If it be too great for the county, application is made to the General Assembly, who authorizes individuals to build it, and to take a fixed toll from all passengers, or give sanction to such other propositions as to them appears reasonable. Ferries are admitted only at such places as are particularly pointed out by law, and the rates of ferriage are fixed."



Figure 2. Tollhouse and "turnpike" on the Valley Turnpike near Winchester.

(Courtesy Virginia Department of Highways & Transportation)

With the coming of independence, the view of the nation, as well as that of Virginia, turned westward. It soon became apparent that the county road system would not be able to furnish the necessary throughroads from east to west. In 1782 the Assembly of Virginia enacted a statute calling for a general survey of roads through the Blue Ridge and between several port towns. The preamble to this act read in part, "Whereas the

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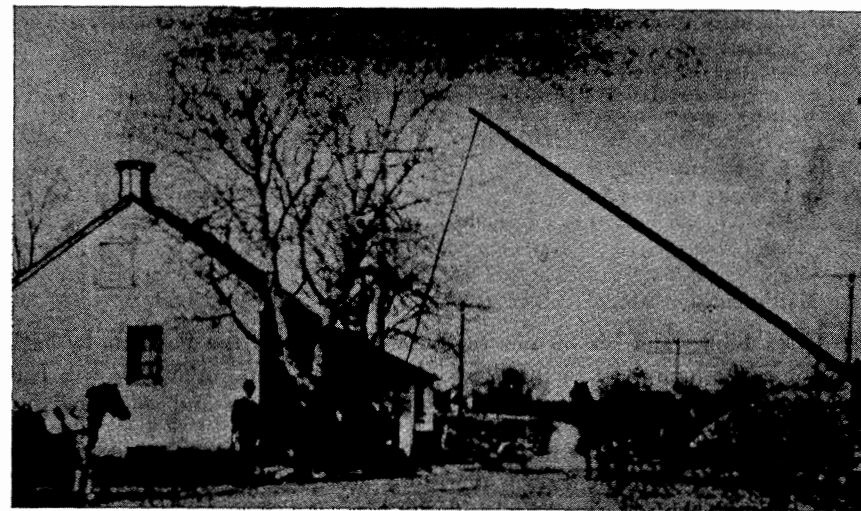


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roads from the passes in the mountain commonly called the Blue Ridge to the seat of government and to other sea-port towns, and from one sea-port town to another, are so indirect and unfixed that great difficulty and expense both arose to the good people of this commonwealth travelling thereon, as well as greatly increasing the public charge of carriage. . . ." Unfortunately this action, which was intended to be conducted and paid for from private funds, was largely ignored by the public, and the Assembly was subsequently forced to find means to support the effort. But the seeds were sown for an era of experimentation and the gradual evolution of state rather than county control.

EXPERIMENTATION 1783-1815

At the end of the American Revolution, the attention of the new nation shifted from England and Europe, on whom trade and political life had depended for over a century and a half, to the areas in the west. Beyond the mountains was a rich and vast region whose trade was coveted by the merchants of the Atlantic ports. They feared particularly its possible loss to the Spanish port of New Orleans. Political leaders realized that the loss of economic control would be followed by the loss of political control as well. Several states, among them Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, set out to capture this trade through a program of internal improvements. The general plan was to improve the natural waterways and to construct canals and supplemental portage roads where required. This plan signaled the beginning of the "Canal Era" and was to have a profound influence upon road development as well.

Thus the surrender at Yorktown in eastern Virginia portended a renewed awareness of the need for communication routes with the west. Support for improved routes with the areas beyond the mountains had just begun to gain momentum when it had been interrupted by the War. As the line of settlement pushed farther westward, the problem of providing connections with the trans-Allegheny region intensified.

Merchants in eastern Virginia, like those along the Atlantic seaboard, feared that trade from the Valley of Virginia would be diverted to Philadelphia via the Great Waggon Road or to New Orleans via the Ohio River system and the Mississippi. They thus strongly supported, along with the settlers in the Valley

and trans-Allegheny region, the funding of the new transportation routes.

The nationwide interest that was developing in river navigation was shared and promoted in Virginia by leaders such as Jefferson, Madison, Washington, and Henry, all of whom maintained a greater interest in rivers than roads. It was from this climate that the James River Company and the Potomac Company were incorporated in 1784 to canalize their respective rivers.



Figure 3. James River and Kanawha Canal during its last days as evidenced by the railroad ties along the towpath.

(Courtesy Valentine Museum)

In 1785 the general road law was revised to get greater unity of action throughout the state. A problem relating to transportation facilities that was to plague the state in its efforts to connect east and west, and that in large measure led to the ultimate separation of the state from what is now West Virginia, stemmed from the differences between the two areas of the state. In the east the towns were larger, capital was more plentiful, distances were shorter, and construction was easier. This situation encouraged the formation of private road-building companies in this area. The west, on the other hand, was sparsely populated,

the tax base was much smaller, and construction more difficult. Thus, public financing was usually required but difficult to obtain. Although the right to collect tolls on roads had been granted by the Assembly in 1772 for repairs in Augusta and Nansemond, the enfranchisement of private turnpike companies did not begin in earnest until about 1795. Prior to 1811 most of the roads in the east were built with private funds, while those in the west were directed by the legislature. This was the beginning of a "mixed enterprise" system using both private and public funds that was to be greatly expanded later and that was unique in America at the time.

A subsidiary method of road finance was the lottery. In 1790 a lottery "not to exceed four hundred pounds" was authorized by the Assembly for the purpose of "cutting a road from Rockfish Gap. . . to Nicholas' and Scott's landing on Fluvanna River." This later became the Staunton and James River Turnpike. Virginia continued to be a major user of lotteries for funding public improvements.

The general road law of 1785 stated that "Every surveyor of a road shall cause the same to be constantly kept cleared and smoothed, and thirty feet at least, unless the court shall by order entered of record authorize a lesser width." The only requirement for bridges was that they have a width of 12 feet and be safe and convenient. The roads were generally cleared of vegetation. Paving of the central portion was uncommon and generally reserved for turnpikes. An early act in Ohio provided that stumps left in the road should not be more than a foot high. Records indicate that the state of the county roads in Virginia was probably only a little better.

In the period 1781-1815, eight turnpike companies were incorporated, two of which, the Ashby's Gap (1809) and Snicker's Gap (1810) penetrated the Blue Ridge to the Valley. The real turnpike era came later during the period 1816-1860.

For the most part, interest in internal improvements remained on a local level throughout this period of experimentation. Movement away from the time honored practices was slow, but the many successful experiments had proved that departures from extreme local control could be successful, provided the administration of the projects was efficient. New methods of financing roads had worked; several privately operated turnpikes were in operation. Good roads had been established in the great market areas of Richmond and Alexandria, and the

Blue Ridge had been crossed by adequate roads in several places. Canals had been opened around the falls of both the James and Potomac Rivers. Yet in spite of these local accomplishments, the principal problem of connecting eastern and western Virginia remained unsolved.

The cry for greater state involvement continued. The state acted, and in 1812 the Assembly appointed 22 commissioners to view and survey the James River west of Lynchburg and the New, Greenbrier, and Kanawha Rivers. Three commissioners were to locate the most convenient route for a turnpike from the mouth of Dunlap Creek on the James to the Greenbrier River. This effort was ultimately to include the building of Humpback Bridge and a route that followed the general location of what is now US 60.

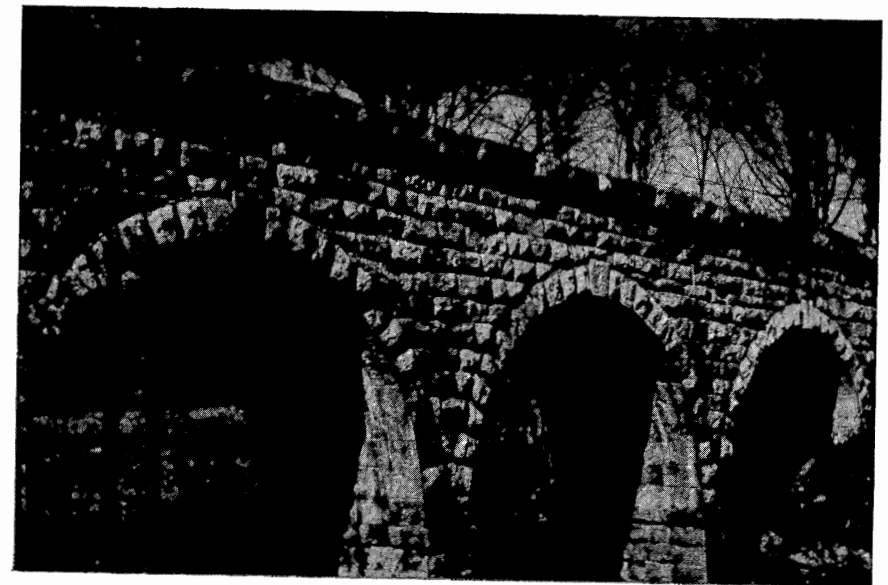


Figure 4. Railroad bridge south of Staunton built by the Valley Railroad in 1874.

(Courtesy Virginia Department of Highways & Transportation)

Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas, on November 30, 1812, minced no words when he told the Assembly:

"I cannot omit to press upon the attention of the Legislature the state of our roads, which is to us a subject of reproach. The condition of public roads is not unfrequently resorted to for the purpose of testing the extent of improvement in which they lie.

Should we cast our eyes over the map of America, and compare the progress of Virginia with that of some of her sister states... how striking, how humiliating the contrast."

Two weeks later a resolution was presented to create the Fund for Internal Improvement. This fund was to be used "exclusively for the purpose of rendering navigable the principal rivers and of more intimately connecting by public highways, the eastern and western waters of the state." Again the effort was interrupted by war. The War of 1812 delayed passage of the resolution but led to the formation of a standing House Committee for Roads and Internal Navigation. Subsequently, the fund was approved and a Board of Public Works, the first such group in America, was created to administer it. The period of experimentation had ended with an increased involvement of the state in road building, and a new era in the technology of road and bridge building dawned in the commonwealth.

EXPANSION 1816-1860

In 1816 the General Assembly created the Fund for Internal Improvement and established a Board of Public Works to administer it. This landmark action came exactly 100 years after Spotswood had led his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe to the top of the Blue Ridge. During the intervening years, these mountains, and subsequently the Alleghenies father to the west, had stood as formidable barriers to transportation connections between the two portions of the commonwealth, a situation the board was expected to remedy.

The legislation passed in 1816 was essentially that which had been proposed in 1812 but which had been sidetracked by the war that began in the same year. Initially, the value of the fund was more than \$1 million, and it was expected to grow to more than \$10 million. The fund was to be used to canalize the rivers and to construct roads necessary to connect the canals.

The creation of the Board of Public Works, the first such body in the United States and a model in many respects for subsequent highway and transportation departments, initiated an unparalleled and almost unimpeded expansion in both land and water transportation in the commonwealth.

The creation of the fund and the board was by far the most significant event in the history of transportation in Virginia to that time and ranks in importance with any subsequent develop-

ment for several reasons. First, it culminated in the trend toward a statewide, coordinated system of routes as opposed to the fragmented road-building efforts of the individual counties. In the second place, the action created a special fund for transportation within the state treasury apart from general revenues, thereby placing the financing of transportation on a significantly sounder basis than in the past. This action also represented a commitment on the part of the state to provide routes between the east and west. Finally, the creation of the position of principal engineer, to be responsible to the board, signaled a dramatic increase in the amount and competence of technology and engineering that would be applied to the various projects under the board's jurisdiction.

So great was its influence that the period could well be called the "Board of Public Works Era." An idea of just how dramatic was the growth during this period can be gained from a few statistics. By the end of 1815 eight turnpike companies had been incorporated, with but a very few miles in service. By 1840 this number had increased to 47, and by 1860 to 190. The James River Company had by 1816 constructed a 7-mile canal around the falls at Richmond and cleared the river of obstructions to Crow's Ferry. By 1851 the canal was completed from Richmond to Buchanan. In 1816 there were of course no efforts at rail transportation, but in August 1829, the "Stourbridge Lion," an early steam engine locomotive, was imported to the United States, and this signaled a new era in surface transportation. Because of its timing, railroad development in Virginia was completely under the jurisdiction of the Board of Public Works.

Some of Virginia's transportation growth was obviously the natural consequence of the expansion of population and available technology occurring all over the nation, but in Virginia the fact that there was a formal and coordinated transportation effort enabled the expansion to take place in an orderly and directed manner.

The internal improvement fund was created through the transfer of shares held by the state in the stock of the Little River Turnpike Company; the Dismal Swamp, Appomattox, Potomac, and James River Canal Companies; the Bank of Virginia; and the Farmer's Bank of Virginia. The total value was \$1,249,211, of which a portion produced an annual income of approximately \$100,000. Only this last amount could be used immediately for construction, but it was confidently predicted that in the course

of 20 years the state would be able to construct public works up to a total value of approximately \$10.5 million.

With the exception of the bank stocks, all of the shares were from transportation companies. Thus, the concept of using the revenue from existing transportation facilities to finance subsequent facilities — a concept that was greatly expanded in the twentieth century — has a long tradition in transportation financing. The fund was used to supplement monies from private sources. When a company that intended to build a facility had raised three-fifths of the necessary funds by sale of stock, the state would supply from the fund the remaining two-fifths. This approach was the forerunner of today's "matching funds." Virginia was the first state to develop, and the only state to apply for the duration of the entire antebellum period, the principle of "mixed enterprise" — a combination of public and private enterprise — in her internal improvement program.

The board consisted of 13 members: the governor (president ex officio), the treasurer of the commonwealth, the attorney-general, and 10 citizens "of whom three shall reside westward of the Allegheny Mountain; two between the Allegheny and the Blue Ridge; three between the Blue Ridge and the great post road (along the Fall Line) — and the residue, between the road and seacoast." Thus, the concept of achieving geographical balance in the selection of citizen commissioners also has a long tradition in Virginia.

As important as the creation of an adequate financial base, was the creation of a greatly expanded technological base in the position of principal engineer. As originally conceived, the services of the principal engineer were to be made available to the various companies, which would reimburse the internal improvement fund. In actual practice, the fund generally absorbed the cost of these engineering services.

During its formative years, the office was filled by two individuals of considerable national reputation. The first principal engineer, appointed in 1816, was Laommi Baldwin, Jr. He would thus qualify for the title of "Virginia's First Transportation Engineer." Baldwin, whose father was also an outstanding civil engineer, resigned in 1818 and concentrated his activities on various projects in the Northeast. Baldwin was succeeded by Thomas Moore, about whose life at this period little is known. Moore, who died in 1822, was succeeded by a man who perhaps had the greatest impact of any individual upon transportation

engineering in Virginia, Claude Crozet. Crozet served two terms, 1823-31 and 1838-43. The hiatus in his service resulted from a conflict with the legislature over the direction of transportation policy. Essentially, the conflict revolved about the legislature's commitment to complete the James River and Kanawha Canal and Crozet's resignation that the efforts should be directed toward railroads that he recognized would make canals obsolete.

The improving technology during this period is reflected in an early act prescribing certain regulations for the incorporation of turnpike companies. The act established permissible sizes of wheels and weights of vehicles. It further outlined the general requirements for regular and "summer" roads.

Baldwin widely advocated paved roads, as did his successors, all of whom were familiar with the ideas of the Scottish engineers McAdam and Telford. One of the first attempts at specifications was given by Baldwin, who wrote: "... a road bed thirty feet wide into which are placed large stones well beaten close to each other over the whole width. Upon this is another bed of stones broken to the size of about four inches, well hammered and rammed in, so as to fill all the cavities between the under stratum of large stones. The third and last layer should be coarse gravel or stone broken to the size of hickory nuts, thrown on evenly or rammed or rolled with a heavy iron roller. The first should be from a foot to eighteen inches thick, the second 12 inches, and the last about 10 inches in the middle and 8 at the sides."

Few of the road sections or structures built under the guidance of the board survive, but many of the locations are followed by modern highways. Because of their length, four of the routes would probably qualify as superhighways in the nineteenth century. These are the Kanawha, which extended from Covington to Charleston (about 150 miles), the Staunton and Parkersburg (about 234 miles), the Northwestern, which ran between Winchester and Parkersburg (about 237 miles), and the Southwestern, which connected Buchanan and Bristol (about 175 miles). The board also was overseer to the plank road craze that swept the nation in the mid-nineteenth century. Roads in many localities still carry the designation "the plank road" as the only reminder of this short-lived technological development.

In 1831, in an action related to the controversy with Crozet, the 13-member board was abolished and a new board consisting of the governor, lieutenant governor, and treasurer of the state was instituted. After this revision, decisions concerning the lo-

cation and construction of routes became increasingly a tug of wits and wills between the Whigs and the Democrats.

The records of the Board of Public Works as well as those of the General Assembly are filled with extended discussions of bond financing versus pay-as-you-go, state versus private development of roads, requirements for tolls versus free access, suggestions that some sections of the state received more than their share of funds while others received less, and many other still current controversies.

This was an era of unparalleled expansion and growth that laid many bases, both physical and philosophical, for later policies. In April 1861, a shot was fired in South Carolina that was to change, at least temporarily, the character of Virginia's transportation system. Routes conceived to connect the east and west now became arteries over which the conflict between North and South would be resolved. Once again peaceful roads became, it was hoped for the last time, wartime roads.

WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION 1861-1906

Transportation routes are always vital to the conduct of war and as a result suffer greatly from its ravages. Thus it was in Virginia during the period 1861-65. For the majority of Virginia's turnpikes, the Civil War was a fatal blow. Only the most strategically located and exceptionally well-built, such as the Valley and Little River Turnpikes, were able to survive. In addition to the physical damage it inflicted on the roads and railroads, the war had a significant impact upon every aspect of the internal improvements program.

The gathering clouds of war had been the catalyst for the separation of West Virginia. A strong case can be made for the view that dissatisfaction with internal improvements was equal to or greater than opposition to slavery as a cause for the division. Editorials of the period reflect relatively little abolitionist sentiment in West Virginia. On the other hand, petitions and written concerns that the trans-Allegheny region was getting less than its fair share of money and improvements were manifold. Such dissatisfaction apparently was not without cause. While the state invested an average of over \$1,000 per mile in turnpikes in the Valley and eastern Virginia, in the trans-Allegheny region it spent a miserly \$60 per mile. The trans-Allegheny turnpikes were not called "mud pikes" without cause. In addition, the in-

ability of the state to complete the water connections after almost three-quarters of a century left the residents of western Virginia frustrated and hostile.

The roads of the Valley were of particular importance to Jackson in his celebrated campaigns in that area. One of the most incredible of his escapades was the use of the Valley turnpike on two occasions to transport trains, captured from the lines of the Baltimore and Ohio at Martinsburg, up the Valley to be placed on Confederate rails for shipment to Richmond. In May 1861, Jackson captured four small locomotives at Harper's Ferry. He moved them to Winchester over a branch line and then hauled them with horses along the pike to Strasburg, where they were placed on the rails of the Manassas Gap Railway. This venture was so successful that in July he used the turnpike again, this time to move much larger engines, each requiring a team of 40 horses, all the way to Staunton. In this way, 14 B&O engines "made the Gap" during the summer of 1861. It was a tribute to the macadam surface of the pike that it apparently survived with only modest damage.

Because of their strategic importance and because most were constructed of wood, the bridges were especially vulnerable to devastation. Jackson and Ashby were without peers as bridge burners. The term "burning their bridges behind them" became an apt description. The 1862 report of the Valley Turnpike Company to the Board of Public Works stated: "When our army came up the Valley last spring and summer they destroyed every large bridge (except Middle River Bridge) on the road and nearly every small bridge from Winchester to Harrisonburg." The report also expressed the difficulties of repairing the damage: "It is impossible to get hands to repair our road, and it is getting worse every day." The company got some help from friend and foe alike, as indicated by the additional comment: "The federal army put temporary bridges over Stony Creek and Cedar Creek and they may answer the purpose until high water, when it is thought they will wash away, although all precaution will be taken to preserve them as long as possible. The government has rebuilt all the other (large) bridges that were burnt . . ."

After the war, the Board of Public Works continued to receive reports from some companies that were then in the newly created state of West Virginia, although these sometimes indicated that the local authorities would not permit the collection of tolls. These reports continued until the litigation between the

states was settled. An important part of the litigation between the two Virginias was concerned with the distribution of state debt that had existed at the beginning of 1861, much of which was a result of the internal improvements program.

The Board of Public Works gradually began to transfer the state's interest in turnpikes to the counties in which such roads lay. The rebuilding of the roads and the creation of new roads largely took place under county control. The county records of meetings of boards of supervisors and circuit court proceedings reflect the expansion of local efforts and the attention given by county officials to road matters, including the appointment of road commissioners to open or maintain specific roads and to contract for bridges. Scarcely recovered from the ravages of war, the road system and canals were devastated by two severe floods, one in 1870 and another in 1877.

Attention to railroad transportation was altered by the creation of the Office of Railroad Commissioner in 1877. The character of the Board of Public Works gradually changed from its earlier primary concern with transportation. In 1884 it became responsible for registering all the property of the state, real and personal. With the drafting of a new constitution, the Board of Public Works went out of existence in 1902, and its duties were assumed by the State Corporation Commission.

Railroads dominated Virginia transportation during the several decades following the Civil War. An event of singular importance occurred on June 1, 1886, when the several different gages, or track widths, were standardized to a single width in one day, a herculean effort. After that date goods and people could traverse Virginia without the need for unloading and transferring at points where the track width had previously been different.

Closely allied with the emergence of the railroads following the Civil War, a massive effort was launched to develop the extensive mineral resources of the Valley. The leader of this movement was Jed Hotchkiss, who became famous as General Stonewall Jackson's mapmaker. After the war, Hotchkiss began publication of *The Virginias* in Staunton. Spurred by Hotchkiss's glowing reports of the numerous iron and other mineral deposits, promoters recognized that land speculation was the fastest way to amass a fortune, and land and improvement companies sprang up in town after town.

Old towns expanded and new cities were created; others were renamed to reflect the new industrial image. Waynesboro Junction became Basic City, Williamson became Clifton Forge. Buena Vista, complete with electric lights where busy streets would soon be located, was created from converted farmland.

Typically, the promoters erected large hotels, laid out streets, and established a land office. The hotels which have been described by Lyle were enormous and included the Rockbridge in Glasgow, the DeHart in Lexington, and the Place City in Goshen. Most of the hotels, being constructed of wood, were subsequently destroyed by fire. Others were demolished. Two survive on school campuses: one at Southern Seminary in Buena Vista and the other, the hotel from Basic City, at Fairfax Hall in Waynesboro.

During the brief period between 1889 and 1893, the boom rose, peaked, and finally collapsed. Accessibility to the railroad was a vital part of the planning for these cities, and officers in the land companies often held positions with the railroad that would benefit from the growth of the town's industry.

One product of Basic City was the first automobile manufactured in Virginia. The Dawson car was built in 1901. Apparently only one car was built, but it presaged a bustling automobile industry in Virginia that continued into the 1920's.

The road and bridge building efforts of the counties continued, but the same need for coordination that had led to the formation of the Board of Public Works in 1816 resulted in the creation of the State Highway Commission in 1906. The act provided that the "commissioner, together with professors of civil engineering of the University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, and Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College and Polytechnic Institute, one such professor to be designated by each of the boards of visitors of said institution, shall constitute the State Highway Commission." All were required to be civil engineers.

Thus began a new era in transportation development in the commonwealth. But perhaps the event that was most significant to subsequent developments during this period occurred not in the commonwealth but in Michigan, where in 1893 Henry Ford marketed his first car. The motor age was born. The periods of transportation development characterized by settlement, experimentation, expansion and reconstruction suddenly became but a prologue for an era of unimagined highway construction.

John Logan: His Life and Work as a Singing School Teacher on the Virginia and North Carolina Frontiers, 1792-1813

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The singing school movement was a very significant development in the history of American music, exerting an influence upon eighteenth and nineteenth century economic, social, religious, educational, and musical life. Singing schools began as a consequence of concerns about the quality of singing in colonial churches, concerns which were expressed in sermons and essays by Thomas Symmes, Cotton Mather, John Tufts, Nathaniel Chauncey, and others. In their efforts to support and defend "regular singing" or singing by note, in opposition to the "common" singing style practiced by many colonists, seeds for singing schools were planted.

Originating in northern colonies in the early seventeen hundreds, singing schools provided systematized vocal music instruction in music reading and singing for inhabitants of both rural and urban areas. Many singing schools were taught by itinerant music teachers who contracted with interested citizens for a specified number of meetings at a stated fee per student; other teachers lived in more heavily populated areas for a year or more, organizing schools which met for periods of three months or longer.

Some singing school teachers soon realized the fertile possibilities in western Virginia frontier country where settlers had moved in the early eighteenth century. Land grants to William Beverly and Benjamin Borden in present-day Augusta and Rock-

bridge Counties stipulated their obligations to have the areas settled, and both men encouraged immigration from northern colonies and from across the ocean, principally attracting settlers of Scotch-Irish descent. By 1746 sufficient numbers had arrived to warrant the organization of Presbyterian churches and the calling of ministers.

Singing classes were being taught in the North Mountain region near Staunton by 1775. Philip Vickers Fithian, who had served earlier as a tutor at Robert Carter's Westmoreland County plantation, recorded in December of that year:

At Mr. Trumble's [John Trimble's] I met with a Genius; I take one of his Sons to be really original— but it is only in Music— He is a young Lad Preparing for a College Course, & expects next fall to enter the Junior Class— Now he teaches an English School in the Day Time— and four Evenings of every Week he teaches Music— & I was agreeably entertained & surpriz'd to hear an Irish Congregation singing universally without the Roll & Whine— He sets the Tune himself. His voice is not strong nor soft;— it is very manageable— & he has an unconquerable Thirst for Music— & I am certain he will make, if he lives to Age, some considerable Progress in the Art.¹

Several weeks later Fithian attended another of Mr. Trimble's singing classes and noted:

Fryday Evening [January 26, 1776], by Request, I attended in Mr. Trumble's Singing School. Several have made large improvements.²

Another of Augusta County's native eighteenth century singing school teachers was John Logan.³ Spending his later years around Greenville, about twelve miles south of Staunton, he was an Elder in Brown's Meeting House and Bethel Presbyterian Church, was a respected citizen in the community, and taught singing schools for some twenty years.

According to information Waddell obtained from Robert Logan, a son of John Logan, his grandparents were James and Hannah Irvin Logan and they had eight sons and four daughters.⁴ James settled in a Fork of the James River (Kerr's or Carr's Creek) and had land surveyed as early as 1762.⁵ Very likely he is the same James Logan listed as an Elder in New Providence Church prior to 1771 and in New Monmouth Church in 1791.⁶

A John Logan was listed in William McPheeters' list of Augusta County tithables in 1781, meaning he was at least six-

teen years old and had been born in 1765.⁷ Two other sources indicate Logan's birthdate as December 26, 1767,⁸ a date which agrees with his tombstone inscription "died in the 70 [th] year of his age."

The earliest documented evidence of Logan's singing school activities is found in a diary of Amzi Chapin, a music teacher who had migrated to the valley of Virginia in late 1791. On August 27, 1792 he recorded a meeting with a Mr. Logan when he attended one of Logan's singing schools in North Carolina.

... then walk'd to the singing where I met Mr. Logan after singing we went to Esq'e Carsons on Tuesday the 28th we sung again.⁹

In September and October Amzi also sang with Logan and as Scholten suggests, Amzi probably introduced Logan to Andrew Law's publications.¹⁰ On September 15, 1792 Amzi noted in his journal:

rode to H Fields [Hawfields] & sung with Mr. Logan. Rode with him to Mr. Joseph Hodge Reciev'd of Mr. Logan for 7 large & 11 small singing books of Laws £3 . . s 14 . . 2.¹¹

Amzi also sang with Logan on December third and seventeenth of 1792.

During the following year John Logan was again teaching in North Carolina, for Amzi wrote that in February he received a number of letters from his New England friends which Mr. Logan had left, and Mr. Logan had also brought "20 large singing books, 12 small ones, 4 psalm books and 30 gamuts."¹² On February 10, 1793 Amzi attended church and came home with Logan and the following October and twice in November Amzi met with Logan, all in North Carolina. The last meeting Amzi briefly described: "Sung Tuesday & gave the school to Mr. Logan."

Logan's first purchase of Law's books must have been from those Amzi purchased the day he left Hartford, Connecticut for Virginia, October 31, 1791. Logan made a second purchase of music books from Amzi in January of 1794, Amzi noting in his journal John Logan's debt of ten pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence for one hundred books. Logan doubtlessly paid the amount due for Amzi crossed out the debt, but without indicating the date paid.

Logan, then, was teaching singing schools around Hawfields from at least 1792 until 1794, and very possibly earlier and later. Amzi returned to Virginia in October of 1795, visited his brother Lucius in Lexington and one month later arrived in Lexington, Kentucky.¹³ Almost three years later, on September 7, 1798, Amzi recorded spending an evening in Logan's home on a journey from Kentucky to New England.

John Logan also conducted singing schools in Augusta County, and perhaps in surrounding areas, in the late eighteenth century. Lucius Chapin, who remained in Virginia until 1797, wrote to Amzi in Kentucky that "Mr. Logan is teaching in Augusta 3 or 4 large schools."¹⁴

When and where John Logan met Rachel McPheeters, the daughter of William and Rachel Moore McPheeters, has not been discovered, but their families may have been well acquainted.¹⁵ Logan purchased the marriage bond on August 25, 1797 with John Coalter (a Staunton lawyer) and himself as sureties.¹⁶ The wedding was performed on August 30, 1797 by the Reverend Archibald Scott, a minister of Bethel Church who had been called to serve North Mountain and Brown's Meeting Houses in 1778.

John Logan's name appears in various deed books of Augusta County. In 1810 the Logans purchased the farm of William McPheeters, Rachel's brother, when the minister resigned his position at Bethel Church and moved to North Carolina.¹⁷ Subsequently Logan sold thirty acres to the Reverend Robert H. Chapman, minister of Bethel from 1817-1821.¹⁸

Logan prospered as a farmer in the Greenville community. According to county tax records and census records between 1800-1837 (excepting those years for which records no longer exist), the Logans owned four slaves in 1810, six in 1820, and ten in 1830. Tax lists for 1811 indicate twelve horses on the plantation, but between 1812-1837 from five to nine were worked.

In 1815 additional taxes were imposed to pay for the War of 1812. For that year Logan paid taxes on seventeen cattle, two bookcases, one bureau, one chest of drawers made of wood other than mahogany, and one pocketwatch. His total assessment for 1815 was \$5.75½, double the preceding year's tax and the greatest amount he paid during any recorded year.¹⁹ Some differences exist between Augusta County and U.S. census records in the numbers of Logan's plantation residents, but listings were obviously made at different times when changes had transpired in slave and family populations.

John Logan was a conscientious Presbyterian who contributed significantly to his membership obligations. He worked for an undetermined number of years prior to 1803 as an Elder in Brown's Meeting House and served diligently on Bethel Presbyterian Church's Session for at least twenty-four years. Bethel's records prior to 1817 were destroyed by fire, but Logan's name appears on a Session report to Presbytery dated May 1, 1813.²⁰ The Logans must have moved their memberships to Bethel between 1803-1810, perhaps when they purchased William McPheeters' farm in 1810.

Between 1817 and January of 1837 Bethel's Session met some sixty times. Excluding six meetings at which attendance was not recorded, John Logan missed only four. He also represented Bethel Church at Presbytery's 1824 meeting in Lexington and on one occasion he was appointed to defend one of Bethel's members against Session's charge of intoxication, even though the charged member refused to attend the proceedings. Session agreed that charges were proved and suspended the member from communion participation.²¹

Ten children were born to John and Rachel Logan, beginning with Sophronia (Sophia) on May 19, 1798. Subsequent children were Eusebius (October 16, 1799), Lavinia (June 13, 1801), William (March 6, 1803), Maria (March 27, 1804), James (January 27, 1805), John N. (September 24, 1810), Robert (February 13, 1812), Joseph A. (April 22, 1814), and Jane Elizabeth (November 11, 1816).²²

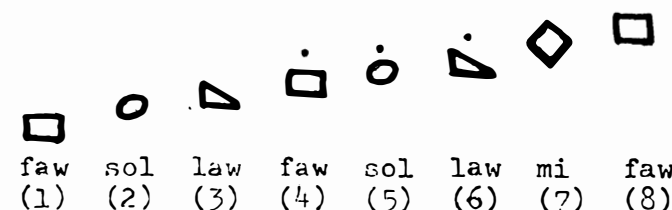
In 1799 Logan made a trip to Harrison County, Kentucky to accompany home his brother-in-law, William McPheeters, who had been studying medicine there.²³ Logan may have gone solely to accompany William home; he may also have used the journey to visit his friend Lucius Chapin. Logan was well acquainted with Lucius and that John and Rachel named their first daughter Sophronia, the same name as a composition attributed to Lucius,²⁴ may not be coincidental. Scholten doubts that Lucius composed the tune Sophronia,²⁵ but John and Rachel Logan may have known the tune through Lucius, perhaps believed Lucius had written the music, and named their daughter after it.

Logan first began to correspond with Andrew Law no later than the early months of 1811. Law (1749-1821) was a singing school teacher and songbook compiler of considerable importance, particularly in the northeastern states. He compiled a number of tunebooks for his personal use, but always eager to sell his pub-

lications Law encouraged other singing school teachers to use his books and he assisted some teachers in establishing singing schools.²⁶

Law devised a new system of music notation involving four characters (shaped notes) and competed with William Little and William Smith for legal rights to the plan.²⁷ Law's patent for shaped notes without lines and spaces was granted on May 12, 1802 but did not appear in print until December of 1803.²⁸ A few years later Law created a revised system which continued to use the four shapes, but a dot was added above or below three shapes to constitute a seven character method. The first three scale degrees used square, oval, and triangle shapes, the same shapes with a dot served the fourth through sixth scale degrees, and a diamond shape was retained for the seventh. (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1 — Law's Seven Character Scale



Logan had become acquainted with Law's musical publications through Amzi Chapin in 1792, but Law's new notation evidently stimulated Logan's enthusiasm. Logan's first extant letter to Law was written on October 1, 1811, was addressed to Reverend Andrew Law, Teacher of Psalmody, Philadelphia, and was mailed from Staunton on October second.

Rev. Sir

I recieved your letter of May 2d and the Books forwarded by Mr. Smith came to hand and ware thankfully recieved I intend to devote the whole of my time to teaching Music the ensuing Winter and from the prospect of schools at present I think I will kneed 200 Books, and if you can send them by Mr. Sowers²⁹ I will indeavor to send the money for 150 when delivered in Stanton the other 50 I will pay for when sold and if it will sute you I will take the Books by the Hundred—

I am much pleased with your new plan of Musick and would be glad to have it in my power to promote it, and if you would print a few plain tunes which have been in use in this Country I think your plan would become common with us and if you are

disposed to comply with my request I will send you a copy of as many tunes as will fill one sheet of paper and if you will print them I will take 200 copies, if you can strike [strike] that number upon such terms as I can dispose of them, please to write me as soon as you receive this and let me know the terms This proposal is at the request of a number of the good people in this Country and it is my opinion that it would be the best way to promote the introduction of your plan
I am with great respect yours &c

John Logan³⁰

This letter is not an introductory one, and Logan must have ordered books previously, which resulted in Law's response of May second. What books Logan first ordered cannot be definitely determined, but the first edition of Law's *Harmonic Companion* is a good possibility. Law had issued this tunebook in 1807 with his four character notation and although he was on the verge of issuing a second edition using seven characters, copies were probably not yet available for shipment to Logan. In addition, Logan first mentions Law's new seven character plan almost one year later.

Logan's order for two hundred books indicates his estimated singing school enrollment for the following season. Usually, singing schools met for three months duration and Logan could have organized several classes, meeting different evenings of each week. Since not every student would purchase a book (especially members of the same family), Logan anticipated enrolling more than two hundred students.

A very important aspect of Logan's October letter concerns his offer to promote Law's new plan, if Law would print some tunes which were well known to local residents. Law, seeing the possibilities of establishing his plan and reaping the financial benefits, subscribed to Logan's suggestion in his reply of October eighth. In Logan's following letter of November 11, 1811 more information was provided about the music he wanted printed and financial arrangements for the sheets and books

Dear Sir I received your of the 8th October and also yours by Mr. Sowers and would have written to you sooner but having intended to fill the sheet with tunes that were never printed before I wished to send it on with my first letter and having forgotten some of the parts of them and lost the copies I had to send others, the four first [first] pages of the sheet were composed by Mrs. Lucius & Amzi Chapin except the tenor the last tune in the sheet I believe was set by Amzy Chapin, the others I expect

you have as I got them in a Book you printed on the old plan.³¹ I will take 250 copies and pay the expense myself.— that is \$16-50 for 250 sheets and send the money with the copy— You may set the parts of the tunes in the sheet as you think proper and I think it is best to the best part³² for the Treble but I do not wish any alteration in the notes— My object in getting the sheet printed is to introduce your plan and I do not expect to make any money by them I will send the money for the Books with the sheet of tunes, and I would have sent it sooner if I could have had a private opportunity but I know of none and we must wrisk the Mail— I do not expect to need more Books this winter than those you have sent by Mr. Sowers & I will not send for those at Richmond unless I need them as to the pamphlets which Mr. Trimmer³³ has I will propose them to my school and dispose of them if I can— The Books have not yet come but the [they] are expected in a few days— the money for the 160 Books—\$70-80
for the sheets \$16-50 ——— 16-50
Makes \$87-30 ——— 87-30

but as I can not Make the sum in notes I will send \$90 please to have the sheets folded and send them by the Mail as soon as convenient, have them folded in such a way as to cost no more by mail than newspapers—
I am yours &c————— John Logan

As stated, Logan intended sending sixteen tune settings which had never been printed, possibly planning to have an all-Chapin supplement for use in his singing schools. Based on his letter, Logan's initiative for having the sheet printed was entirely his own and no evidence has been found to support Scholten's statement that Logan enlisted the assistance of Lucius and Amzi in assembling the music.³⁴

Law placed the music of Logan's manuscript in his new notation (shaped notes without staff) and charged \$066 for each sheet, expensive considering the amount of printed music but hardly sufficient reimbursement for Law's time and effort. In his November letter Logan reduced his previous request for two hundred books to one hundred and sixty, perhaps because his singing school enrollments were less than anticipated. In regard to the pamphlets which Mr. Tremper had, Law might have been referring to his *Church Music*, but the pamphlet's title is not mentioned in correspondence between the two men.

Logan's next letter to Law may have been lost, for Logan stated in his September 9th, 1812 letter: "I think I wrote to you last winter after I received the Books." Logan may have intended to write and did not, but it seems logical for him to have acknowledged receipt of his books and sheets which arrived the

previous winter, probably in February. Logan's September 9th letter contains an order for two hundred copies of Law's *Harmonic Companion* with the seven character plan (second edition of 1811), two hundred sheets, and twelve copies of the "third part of the art of singing." The latter item refers to Law's *Musical Magazine*, a periodical publication which constituted Part III of Law's *Art of Singing*.

In the same letter Logan mildly chided Law for changing notes in some of the music he had sent, and only with recent discovery of the Logan sheet has it been possible to determine some alterations Law made.³⁵ Briefly stated, Law received eight settings which Logan attributed to Lucius or Amzi Chapin, one tune which Amzi had arranged for part-singing, and seven settings which Logan had taken from one of Law's earlier publications. Law might have altered some of the Chapin compositions as Crawford³⁶ and Stevenson³⁷ suggested, but without Logan's manuscript that cannot be proven. What can be demonstrated is that Law made considerable revisions in those settings which Logan took from one of Law's books — the third edition of the *Rudiments of Music*, published in 1791.

Logan's letter of September 9th, 1812 in its entirety reads:

Dear Sir

Augusta VA — September 9th 1812

I recieved your letter of June 2d 1812 by Mr Sowers in which you complain of my not writing to you — I think I wrote to you last winter after I recieved the Books I would have written with Mr. Sowers last spring but My schools were not out when he set out for Philadelphia my wife was ill at that time with the pheremalism [phlegmasism?] and I was very little at home, I was in Staunton a the day before Mr Sowers set out it was then two late for me to write I told Mr Sowers to give you My thank for your atention to me I also told him that I did not think of teaching any more but if you would send 50/or/100 Books with him I had now [no] doubt but they would sell in this country and he could take you the money when he returned to Philadelphia, Mr Sowers I believe forgot my message or you would have got it &c I have not sent yet to Mr Jones for they Books, I intended the money I sent you last year to stand for the Books and sheets that you sent to me— I have thoughts of teaching the ensuing winter, if I do I must have Book, Mr Sowers talks of coming to Philadelphia in two or three weeks I will send money with him say one hundred dollars, send me of the best kind of Books if you have them (that is) the Harmonic Comp printed with seven carecters, seting the Books at 47\$ per Hundred the sheets at \$3 per hundred \$100 will bring 200 Books and 200 sheets I would not wish them cheaper. Send me one dozen of the third part of the art of singing which

you say are the same price; if you have not many of the kind printed with seven carecters I will take of the others but I would prefer those printed with seven carecters. the sheets I alude to are those which you printed for me if you have printed any of the tunes sent to you by Mr Luceaus Chapin pleas to send me a Copy— I did not expect you would have altered the the tunes I sent you, my object in geting them printed was to have some of the tunes which are in use in this country printed on your plan that the old people might see their favourite tunes printed on the best plan in the wourld hoping by this means to remove their prejudices. it in a good measure had the desired efect but it would have ben better they say if the tunes had not ben altered——

I am sorry to hear that you do not meet with incoragèment as a teacher of Music Your expeience and knowledge in the Art of Psalmody entitles you to the confidence of any people, but it often hapens that those who are the most deserving do not meet with that incoragement which their merret inttles them to from their fellow men— Your plan of noting is undoubtedly the best that ever has yet been published, I find some deficulty in geting voices to sute the tenor and in a schol of thirty or forty schollars I can not get more than three or fore tenor voices and they complain that it is very laborious to sing tenor and I often have no tenor

believe me Sir I am with great respect yours sincerely

John Logan

NB pleas to write to me by the Mail as soon as you get this & let me know how many Books you can let me have

Logan's choice of tunes was approved by Lucius Chapin in a letter written to Andrew Law, dated March 9, 1812. L. Chapin, who had been residing in Kentucky since 1797, had received three letters from Law since June of 1811 and in one of those letters Law may have asked Lucius about the popularity of the music John Logan had selected, or Logan may have communicated the news of his sheet to Lucius himself. Law probably encouraged Lucius to forward a sheet of Kentucky favorites as Logan had done for Augusta County and Law succeeded in arousing Lucius' interest for Lucius answered, "I intend sending a Sheet if Mr. Alexander be willing to take it."³⁸ Lucius must then have notified Logan that he had sent a sheet to Law, for Logan asked Law for a copy if it had been printed.

Logan wrote a second letter on September 9th, 1812 which has been preserved. The recipient is unidentified, but Logan obviously addressed an acquaintance he had not seen for some time: "I have had a good many ups and downs in this troublesome World since I saw you last..."³⁹ The recipient carried

Logan's September 9th letter to Law, or should Law have moved from Philadelphia, the letter was to be given to Law's representative.⁴⁰ Contents of the two letters are similar except for what appears to be a difference in the *Harmonic Companion* cost.

Logan knew the person to whom he wrote on September 9th very well, expressing in the last paragraph:

... it does not make much odds how we get thro this world whether we are rich or poor, for a fue years will put the rich and the poor the Happy & the misirable the foolish and the wise all upon a lavel as to this world, our great busness is to be ready to meet Death without dismay and to enter upon that state where Sin or Sorrow pain or disappointment can never come.⁴¹

Logan's letter to Law probably arrived while Law was in Connecticut and not having a reply by the fifth of October, Logan wrote again. He clarified his order for two hundred sheets, one hundred eighty-eight *Harmonic Companion* copies in seven character notation, and twelve copies of the third part of the *Art of Singing*. He qualified his singing school needs for the forthcoming season by writing "I suppose one hundred [books] will be as many as I will dispose of this season" and proposed to secure books from Mr. Jones, Law's agent in Richmond, if Law could not supply at least one hundred books.

When Law read Logan's October 28th letter he must have been discouraged by the reduction in Logan's order. Law was having considerable difficulty in developing interest in his singing schools, and his publications were not finding a level of acceptance to his satisfaction. Logan reduced his order to one hundred copies of the *Harmonic Companion*, one or two hundred sheets, but did not alter his request for one dozen of the third part of the *Art of Singing*.

Law's next letter to Logan was written on November 13, 1812, receipt of which Logan acknowledged on March 8, 1813. Logan's books and sheets arrived during the preceding January and Law evidently sent fifty copies of the *Art of Singing* rather than twelve as Logan had ordered. Logan did not complain and had them bound in Staunton for eleven dollars. Between January and March he sold all but two dozen of the *Harmonic Companion*, probably to the ninety scholars he had enrolled in singing schools.

Logan's letter of March eighth relates an encounter with a Mr. Cobwine, a music teacher in Staunton who was using Little and Smith's book.⁴²

There is a man in Staunton from New England who teaches on Smith and Littles plan he came to Staunton before my Books came to hand the people were anxious to have a school I was in doubt about my Book and could not say sertainly whether I could take any schools, he of coars had [?] a school I have never heard his school sing nor have I heard much about it I was once in his company about half a hour we sung one tune and spent the balance of the time debating about the plans of noting I believe he can sing all the tunes in his Book, he has a good voice and can time Music tolarable well, he says he can sing on your plan but I could not get him at it he is much oposed to your plan but could not give any reason why he did opose it to my satisfaction.

In the same letter Logan also mentions that two gentlemen in Augusta County had commenced teaching on Law's plan and that they had secured some books from him. Unfortunately, Logan fails to identify them or indicate where they were teaching. Logan also expressed a concern about continuing to teach music, writing, "I wish to quite [quit] the busness of teaching and would be willing to give it up to any one who was capable of teaching." Law responded to Logan's letter via Mr. Sowers, and asked Logan about the prospects of singing schools during the summer. Logan replied on April 29th:

I recieved yours by Mr. Sowers and can only observe that the prospect of teaching Music in the somer season is not good except in the towns the people in this Country who incorage Psalmody are generally farmers and can not attend to it in the somer, I can not say whether those men will teach any more or not who have begun on your plan-there is a young man in this neighborhood who has been with me last winter as an assistant who will probaly teach next season he is a very worthy young genleman well aquiented with music and I feel interrested for him John Duglass) as the presbytery of Lexington will meet this week at the Church where I worship I can know what the general prospect would be in this Country and will write you to that effect if I was in a situation that I could go abroad to teach I think I could get more business than I would be able to do, but I can not leave my famely and if I teach again it will be in the visinity where I live I think you might send 100 Harmonic Comp of the best kind to Mr. Sowers without any dout of selling thim if I had money to speare I would send for them I will write to you soon again I am yours &c

If Logan did write to Law again, the letter is not known to exist; but Logan is mentioned in a letter from John C. Sowers to Andrew Law dated July 26, 1813.

I intended to have written you some time ago but having forgotten is the only apology I have to offer, Mr. Logan thinks if your books were here he could dispose of 100 at least, but we do not see any prospect of getting them on here as all communication is stopped— Mr. Logan even thinks it doubtful that the above number could be sold as this war has taken off a great many of our young men it would be difficult to raise a school, he is very much at a loss to know in what way I should write you at all events no books could come on at present as there is no way to get them here.⁴³

Apparently Logan stopped teaching singing schools in 1813, or he discontinued ordering Law's publications. Conditions brought on by the War of 1812 as Sowers mentioned, Law's leaving Philadelphia, Logan's devotion to his family, his church membership responsibilities, and time required by his plantation probably caused him to cease teaching after some twenty-one years of work.⁴⁴

The changes which Law made in Logan's manuscript, and about which Logan complained in his letter of September 9, 1812, have been generally speculated by Crawford and Stevenson.⁴⁵ Without Logan's manuscript, which is lost, the nature and number of changes cannot be completely determined, but the third and fourth editions of Law's *Rudiments of Music*, published in 1791 and 1792 respectively, are the only Law publications containing all seven compositions which Logan took from one of Law's books printed in round-note notation. The two editions are similar, but of those seven works Logan excerpted, four settings in the third edition are not printed with texts. In the fourth edition, these settings have texts, but since they differ from those in Logan's sheet while the other three are the same, Logan must have used the third edition of Law's *Rudiments of Music*.

Logan sent Law sixteen compositions, enough to fill one sheet of paper: seven from the *Rudiments of Music*, eight which Logan believed Lucius and Amzi Chapin had composed and which were being published for the first time, and one other tune Amzi had harmonized. These tunes with Logan's attributions, the traditional or probable composer, with an indication of the first publication, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Tune Name	Logan's Attribution	Traditional or Probable Composer
*Rockbridge ^a	L. Chapin	L. Chapin
*Consolation ^b	L. Chapin	A. Chapin
*New Monmouth ^c	L. Chapin	L. Chapin
Brentford ^d	L. Chapin	L. or A. Chapin
*Eunitia ^e	L. Chapin	L. or A. Chapin
*Twenty-Fourth ^f	L. Chapin	A. Chapin
Amanda		Justin Morgan
*Bethel ^g	A. Chapin	A. Chapin
*Liberty Hall	L. Chapin	L. Chapin
New Hundred ^h		Tufts?
Union		Gillet
Suffield		King
All Saints		Gillet
Rochester		Holdroyd
Old Hundred	Luther	Bourgeois
Wells		Holdroyd

Notes:

- *First printings known
- a) Also known as Forest and New Rockbridge in other publications.
- b) Consolation bears a strong melodic resemblance to Twenty-fourth. In Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*, Consolation is attributed to Dean.
- c) New Monmouth was probably named for the New Monmouth Church near Lexington, Virginia, formerly Hall's Meeting House. Davisson attributed New Monmouth to Billings.
- d) Brentford was known later as Ninety-Third and Kentucky. Published under the tune name Delay in Ingalls' *Christian Harmony* of 1805, the composition may have been written by Ingalls, or possibly the tune was composed by L. or A. Chapin and was known to Ingalls.
- e) Also spelled later as Unitia. Lowens believes Unitia was derived from English folk-song. Irving Lowens, "John Wyeth's 'Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second:' A Northern Precursor of Southern Folk Hymnody," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. V, No. 2 (Summer, 1952), p. 131. Since no earlier printings are known, the tune was probably written by L. or A. Chapin.
- f) Printed later under several tune names including Primrose (the most frequent), Orange, Melody, Chelmsford, and Memphis. In Amzi's music manuscript book, Orange is totally different from Twenty-Fourth.
- g) Amzi mentions a Bethel (Church) a number of times in his journal of travels in North Carolina. Another possibility is Bethel Church in Augusta County.

h) New Hundred was the tune Logan believed A. Chapin had harmonized, and he was probably correct. Since the melody in the Logan-Law sheet has been placed in the soprano part and the setting varies considerably from that in Amzi's music manuscript book, Law may have altered Amzi's setting that Logan sent. Lowens believes New Hundred may have been composed by John Tufts and thus would be the earliest American composition. Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians of Early America*, pp. 54-55.

Comparing Law's *Rudiments of Music* with Logan's sheet, the reasons for Logan's complaining to Law can be ascertained. Evidently Law had prepared new settings of Old Hundred, Wells, and Rochester for his *Select Harmony* which came off the presses in late March or April of 1812, and he sent these settings to Logan instead of those from his *Rudiments of Music*. The new settings vary considerably from the earlier ones, notably by being in different keys and by having the melody in the soprano part (to which Logan would not have objected), but Law also changed notes (Plate I, Examples 2 and 3). Being musically better, Law obviously preferred his new arrangements and thought Logan would also.

Plate I

Wells, as it appears in the Logan-Law sheet in Law's seven character notation

Moderate. W. J. L. I. S. L. M.

When Israel fled from Pharaoh's host, Left in great dismay and loss, The tribes with cowardly language own Their king, and Judah was his throne.

In four settings (Amanda, Union, Suffield, and All Saints) Law made various alterations to improve their musical quality. Only minor changes were made in some, but in All Saints the meter was altered from three-four to three-two and both soprano and alto lines were subjected to extensive modification, the latter two-thirds of the setting bearing little resemblance to that in the *Rudiments of Music*. The melody, in particular, appears so different as to give an impression that Law forgot Gillet's melody and concentrated on other aspects of the music.

Ex. 2 — Wells, as it appears in *Rudiments of Music*, third ed.

Ex. 3 — Wells, as it appears in the Logan-Law sheet, transcribed into modern notation

Having modified seven and possibly eight settings which Logan sent, Law might not have refrained from changing the Chapin compositions. However, a study of their melodic and harmonic style leads to a conclusion that Law did not modify the Chapin compositions, or he altered them only slightly.

Though Logan was disappointed by Law's alterations, he did not feel the result was greatly detrimental to his initial purpose. Having seen and used some of their favorites in Law's new notation must have satisfied Logan's classes, but their use did not achieve a wave of popularity for Law's method as Logan had hoped and anticipated.

John Logan's career as a singing school teacher probably ceased during the early months of 1813, and Logan must have witnessed the success Little and Smith's plan achieved in the following years. Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*, printed in 1816 and later, and Funk's *Genuine Church Music*, editions in 1832 and later, were two important southern collections using Little and Smith's system which gained acceptance in the valley of Virginia prior to Logan's death.

Logan continued to live and work in the Greenville community after his retirement from teaching singing schools, giving significant time to his duties as an Elder in Bethel Church and doubtlessly much time to his family and plantation. His death came suddenly and unexpectedly, described in a local newspaper:

Died, at his residence near Greenville, Augusta, on the 10th inst. Mr. JOHN LOGAN, a respectable citizen, aged about 70 years. On the Saturday preceding his death, the deceased slightly scratched one of his fingers; the wound inflamed; mortification ensued, and occasioned his death three days afterwards.⁴⁶

John Logan probably died of a bacterial infection of the wound (blood poisoning) suffered on January 7, 1837 and he was buried in section E-1 of Bethel Church Cemetery near the graves of his three children John N., Eusebius, and Sophia. His will, signed with his mark, was dated January 9, 1837:

I John Logan, being of a sound, and disposing mind, do will, and bequeath, the whole of my Estate, both personal and real; consisting of lands, slaves, stock, farming utensils, Household and kitchen furniture; together with any grain on hand at my death, to my beloved Wife Rachel, for her Support, and comfort, during her natural life; and to be disposed of by her among *our children* at her death; or at such time as She may see fit and proper according to the best of her judgment, and their necessities.

It is my Will that She take efficient measures immediately after my decease for the payment of all my just debts and funeral expenses and to this end I do appoint her (with any of my sons whom she chooses to assist her) Administratrix of my Estate; and further that no security shall be required of her. In testimony whereof, I have her unto Subscribed my name this ninth day of January one thousand eight hundred and thirty seven.⁴⁷

Logan's estate was appraised on October 30, 1837 by Samuel Humphrey (Humphrere), McClung Patton, and Theophilus Gamble (Logan's son-in-law). Excluding real estate holdings, the estate included ten slaves and totaled \$4761.50.⁴⁸ Rachel Logan

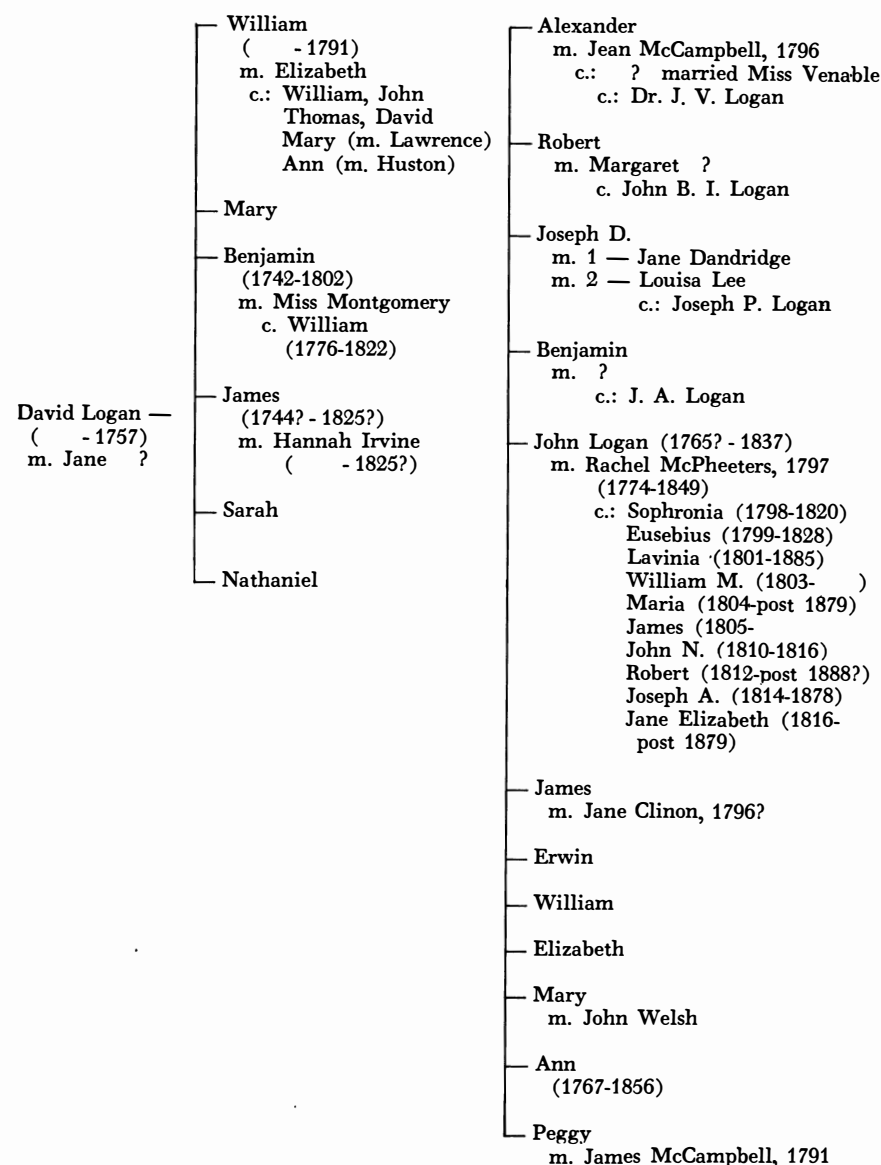
died almost thirteen years later and her obituary was printed in the Lexington Gazette on Thursday, January 3, 1850.⁴⁹ Her will was written on August 15, 1844 and at that time she estimated her estate as worth nine thousand six hundred dollars, excluding kitchen and household furniture. Among bequests to her children, she left sums of \$1800 to Maria and Jane Elizabeth, and \$1200 each to William, James, Robert, Joseph, and Lavinia.⁵⁰

On May 30, 1850 Lavinia Logan Abernathy and her husband John, and William Logan granted rights of their estate share to Joseph Alexander Logan for \$1300 and \$1686.26 respectively. On September 22, 1851 James Logan and his wife Agnes (living in Warren County, Ohio) also sold their share to Joseph Alexander for \$1300. Two months later on November 21, 1851 Joseph and Jane Logan, Theophilus and Jane E. Logan Gamble, Maria, Robert A. and Elizabeth Jane Logan sold three acres of the estate to Samuel Lightner and the following January sold another small parcel adjoining the Greenville Academy to William F. Smith. The heirs sold the remaining estate of about 203 acres to Peter H. Eidson on March 4, 1853.⁵¹ The farm became known as the Collins place, was subsequently owned by Earle Shultz, and is presently owned by W. Hampton Haislip.⁵²

During those years preceding and immediately following his marriage, John Logan was an important figure in the musical life of Augusta County and central North Carolina, and possibly in other sections of western Virginia as well. His efforts to develop a musical literacy among the Scotch-Irish settlers, his attempt to establish Andrew Law's shaped note method and publications, and his initiative in having compositions of Lucius and Amzi Chapin published for the first time are creditable accomplishments. In addition, until evidence proves contrarily, Logan was responsible for having the first southern folk-hymns published for singing schools, one year before Patterson's *Church Music* and Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* and four years before Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*. His role in disseminating northern singing schools materials in the south was also significant even though Andrew Law's shaped note notation did not have lasting success.

For his role in having southern folk hymns published for the first time and for his contributions to singing school history, the name of John Logan deserves to be recorded as an important early musical pioneer in the southern United States.

Appendix A



Appendix B

Biographical Sketches of John and Rachel Logan's Children

Sophronia (Sophia) was born on May 19, 1798 and is listed on Bethel's Church roll of 1817. Sophia did not marry and evidently lived with her parents. She died four days after her twenty-second birthday and was buried in Bethel Church Cemetery.

Eusebius is listed as number 103 on the 1817 Bethel roll. He was born on October 16, 1799 and attended Princeton Theological Seminary for three years (1823-1826). According to a letter dated March 11, 1879 from R. C. Walker to the Reverend W. E. Schenck in response to a request for information about Eusebius for the Princeton Seminary alumni files, Eusebius was prepared for college under R. H. Chapman (Bethel minister and graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary), under Reverend Joseph Logan (his uncle) at Gloucester County, Virginia, and under Reverend William McPheeters. Walker stated that Reverend Chapman taught a classical school at Greenville. Eusebius's certificate from Princeton Seminary was dated September 23, 1826. Based on information Walker obtained from Maria Logan and Jane E. Logan Gamble (Eusebius's sisters), Eusebius was not ordained, but did serve as a missionary in North Carolina and preached in Maryville, Tennessee. Because of declining health (which was not good at the Seminary) Eusebius requested and obtained leave to suspend labor in April of 1828. He returned home and was sent to the mountains by his physician. Subsequently he preached a few months in Randolph County, Virginia, but again returned home because of failing health. He was attacked with an inflammation of the brain and died in delirium at his parent's home on August 14, 1828. He was buried in Bethel Church Cemetery. (Information from the files of Princeton Theological Seminary include R. C. Walker's letter, and a note from F. H. Johnston dated March 17, [18]79.

Lavinia Logan was born June 13, 1801 and her name appears as number 104 on the 1817 Bethel membership list. She was married to John Abernathy on April 17, 1823 by Reverend James Morrison at New Providence Church. (Second Marriage Record of Augusta County, Va., 1813-1850, p. 20). She was dismissed from Bethel Church (move of membership) on September 14, 1825 and later lived near Knightstown, Indiana. She died on August 14, 1885. (Rice, McPheeters Genealogy, p. 105).

William McPheeters Logan was born March 6, 1803 and his name is number 186 on the 1817 Bethel roll. He married Hannah Hudson on May 16, 1827, the ceremony being performed by the Reverend William Calhoun at Hebron Church. William was dismissed from Bethel on January 7, 1828 and he and Hannah apparently moved their membership to Augusta Stone Church. Both were readmitted to Bethel from Augusta Church on September 27, 1829. They moved their membership again in December of 1837, but were again readmitted to Bethel on September 17, 1840. Hannah died on August 19, 1849, aged forty-six years and was buried in Bethel Church Cemetery. Two children of William and Hannah were also buried there. Six other children of William and Hannah are Jane

Elizabeth Newell Logan (born March 2, 1830), Lavinia Ann Judson Logan (born December 18, 1832), Sarah F. Logan (born November 5, 1836 and baptized by Rev. MacFarland on August 2, 1845), Roberta McPheeters Logan (born April 11, 1845), and George William Logan (born November 12, 1848).

Maria Logan was born March 27, 1804 and she was number 219 on the Bethel membership list of June 1817. She was dismissed to Augusta Stone Church on January 16, 1852. According to R. C. Walker's letter to W. E. Schenck at Princeton, Maria was still living in 1879. Apparently Maria never married.

James Logan married Agnes Patterson and after her death he married Fannie Hampton Rose. James was born on January 27, 1805 and was listed on Bethel's roll of September 14, 1823. He was dismissed on March 7, 1828 but was readmitted to Bethel on February 5, 1832 on certificate from Raleigh, North Carolina. He was again dismissed on February 28, 1853. He had at least two children and moved to Franklin, Ohio. (Rice, McPheeters Genealogy, p. 106).

John N. Logan was born on September 24, 1810 and died on January 18, 1816. He was buried in Bethel Church Cemetery.

Robert Logan is listed on the Bethel Church rolls of 1828 and 1837. He was born on February 13, 1812 and married Jane Logan, his first cousin, daughter of Reverend Joseph Logan. Robert and Jane were dismissed from Bethel membership in December of 1844. Waddell obtained information about the Logan family from Robert, who was living in Fort Worth, Texas. Robert Logan was a minister.

Joseph Alexander Logan was born on August 22, 1814 and was listed on the Bethel rolls of 1829 and 1837. He was dismissed on August 17, 1849 and must have migrated to Kentucky for a short period of time. He and Jane L. Logan were admitted to Bethel Church on certificate from Paris, Kentucky on November 2, 1850 and both were dismissed to Paris on October 24, 1852. Joseph A. Logan is listed as a deacon in Augusta Stone Church in 1872. He died on October 3, 1878 and was buried in Augusta Stone Church. A possible son, Robert A. Logan (October 29, 1853-February 4, 1920) is also buried in Augusta Stone Church Cemetery.

Jane Elizabeth Logan was the last of John and Rachel's children, being born on November 11, 1816. She is first listed on Bethel's roll of November 13, 1831. She married Theophilus Gamble (born January 27, 1812), the son of Rebecca McPheeters and John Gamble. Jane Elizabeth was still living in 1879.

FOOTNOTES

¹Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Leonidas Dodson (eds.), *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775-1776* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934), pp. 139-140.

²*Ibid.*, p. 175.

³Logan is also spelled Loggan or Loggen in early records of Augusta and Rockbridge County.

⁴Jos[eph] A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Randolph & English, 1888), p. 405. Robert Logan indicated that his grandfather (James) was a brother of Benjamin, the reknowned Kentucky pioneer, which agrees with data in Major G.J.N. Logan-Home, *History of the Logan Family* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons Limited, 1934), p. 230. James was probably a year or two younger than Benjamin and must have married young to have fathered John Logan in 1765 or 1767. Emma White lists only six children born to James and Hannah Logan and states that General Benjamin Logan's brother John (subject of this research) married Rachel McPheeters. Emma [Siggins] White, *Genealogy of the descendants of John Walker of Wigton, Scotland* ([Kansas City, Mo.]: Press of the Tiernan-Dart Printing Company, 1902), pp. 83-84. General Benjamin Logan would have been John's uncle.

Morton lists the names of seven sons and four daughters of James and Hannah Logan. Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: The McClure Co., Inc., 1920), p. 499. Morton omitted an eighth son, William, who is mentioned in James Logan's will of 1821. Rockbridge County Will Book 5, p. 524. This Logan family appears to be that of John Logan and his son Robert mentioned by Waddell. A genealogical chart, as this author believes it to be, is found in Appendix A.

James Logan may have been known as John, for on an indenture dated November 14, 1771 in which James Wardlaw and his wife Martha conveyed land to the New Providence Elders, James Logan is listed among the group. However, after the first use of James, the name John appears thereafter. A James Logan also participated in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. Livia Nye Simpson-Poffenbarger, *The Battle of Point Pleasant. A Battle of the Revolution. October 10, 1774* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia: The State Gazette, 1909), p. 90. Whether these references apply to John Logan's father has not been discovered.

⁵Augusta County Survey Book 2, p. 14.

⁶Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Lexington Presbytery Heritage. The Presbytery of Lexington and its churches in the Synod of Virginia. Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Verona, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 341, 335.

⁷Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1966), II, p. 429. The original list cannot be found.

⁸Helen McPheeters Rice, *The McPheeters Family* (Winter Park, Florida, 1956), p. 105, and Rev. Wm. McPheeters (comp.), *Biographies of the McPheeters and Moore Families*, Microfilm, The University of Virginia Manuscript Collection.

⁹Journal of Amzi Chapin. Xerox copy provided by Mr. David Thomas of Peninsula, Ohio, present owner of the manuscript and Amzi's music manuscript book. Future references to Logan's singing school activities in North Carolina have been extracted from Amzi's journal.

¹⁰James William Scholten, "The Chapins: A study of Men and Sacred Music West of the Alleghenies, 1795-1842." Unpublished D.Ed. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1972, p. 39.

¹¹Hawfields constituted the area around Burlington and Graham in Alamance County. Formerly known as Haw old fields, the area was settled by Scotch-Irish between 1736-1741. Herbert Snipes Turner, *Church in the Old Fields. Hawfields Presbyterian Church and Community in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 31.

¹²Gamuts were small pamphlets which included the basic elements of music theory and pages for writing exercises.

¹³Lucius Chapin settled in Lexington in 1789. He returned north to marry in 1791 and Amzi accompanied Lucius and his bride back to Virginia.

¹⁴Letter dated April 1797 from Lucius Chapin to Amzi Chapin, quoted in Scholten, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁵The McPheeters family was a prominent Presbyterian one, Rachel's grandfather William having moved to the Buffalo Gap section as an immigrant from Ireland. Rachel's father died in 1807 and his will, dated August 26, 1807, included Rachel. Augusta County Will Book 10, p. 156. Rachel's mother lived with Rachel and John Logan until her death in 1826. Herbert Turner, *Bethel and Her Ministers 1746-1974* (2nd ed., Verona, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, Inc., 1974), p. 84.

¹⁶Augusta County Court House Records.

¹⁷Augusta County Deed Book 41, p. 95.

¹⁸Augusta County Deed Book 46, p. 27.

¹⁹Augusta County Tax Records, 1800-1837.

²⁰Turner, *Bethel and Her Ministers*, p. 88.

²¹Howard McKnight Wilson (comp.) *Records of Lexington Presbytery, Presbyterian Church in the United States*. Records of Bethel Church. Microfilm Reel VL 23. Session Minutes of April 6, 1827.

²²A majority of the dates have been taken from Rice, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106. Biographical information about Logan's children collected in the process of research has been summarized in Appendix B.

²³Wm. McPheeters, *op. cit.*

²⁴Charles Hamm, "The Chapins and Sacred Music in the South and West," *Journal of Research in Music Education*, VII (Fall 1960), pp. 95-96.

²⁵Scholten, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

²⁶Richard A. Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 77ff.

²⁷Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 79ff.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁹John C. Sowers was a Staunton merchant who came to the area around 1810. Augusta merchants traveled regularly to Philadelphia for goods. Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

³⁰Letter in the collection of Andrew Law Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. All future quotes of correspondence between Logan and Law are from the Andrew Law Papers and are quoted with permission. Logan's spellings and punctuation are retained.

³¹The old plan refers to traditional round-note notation.

³²In Logan's script this appears to be "bess part," but bass or best may have been intended. In either case his meaning is not clear, but one possibility is that he preferred the melody in the treble (soprano), rather than in the tenor which was customary. Law was one of the first compilers to begin placing the melody in the top voice part.

³³Mr. Trimper (Lawrence Tremper) was postmaster in Staunton from 1798-1841. He must have served as an agent for Law's books in that area as he did later for some of Ananias Davisson's publications.

³⁴Scholten, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

³⁵Two copies of the Logan sheet (the only ones known) were discovered in a book owned by the author of this paper and his wife. The book also includes Law's *Harmonic Companion* (1811 edition) and the *Musical Magazine*, Part III of the *Art of Singing*. The book was formerly in the personal library of Joseph Funk, noted singing school teacher, compiler and teacher in Rockingham County.

³⁶Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

³⁷Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966), p. [78j-k].

³⁸Letter in the Andrew Law Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. The complete letter is quoted in Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 219-220.

³⁹Letter of John Logan in the Andrew Law Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁴⁰Actually Law had left Philadelphia during the late summer for a brief visit to Connecticut, but by October was back in Philadelphia where he lived until 1813. Law had responded to Logan's letter but Logan had not received it by October 5th.

⁴¹Letter of John Logan in the Andrew Law Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁴²William Little and William Smith published *The Easy Instructor* in 1801, one year earlier than Law's shaped note patent. Little and Smith used the staff and the same shapes as Law, but Law's shapes for *faw* and *law* were the reverse of those in *The Easy Instructor*.

⁴³Andrew Law Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁴⁴Logan's involvement with singing schools in 1792-1794, 1797, and 1811-1813 has been supported. That Logan taught in many or all years between 1792-1813 seems very likely.

⁴⁵Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 215, and Stevenson, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶Lexington (Virginia) Gazette, January 20, 1837.

⁴⁷Augusta County Will Book 21, p. 315

⁴⁸Augusta County Will Book 22, pp. 156-157

⁴⁹Lexington Gazette, January 3, 1850. The obituary was written by Rev. Francis McFarland, minister of Bethel when Rachel Logan died.

⁵⁰Augusta County Will Book 29, pp. 487-489

⁵¹Augusta County Deed Book 72, pp. 531-532

⁵²Before construction of Interstate 81 Mr. Haislip's farm contained two hundred and twenty-five acres. Interstate construction took twenty-eight acres and twenty-three acres are presently west of Interstate 81. Letter from W. Hampton Haislip dated April 28, 1979.

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Letter from John Logan to unidentified recipient, September 9, 1812. Andrew Law Papers, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan.

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Augusta County Obituaries, 1848-1849

By Anne Covington Kidd
(Continued from Volume 15, Number 2)

SUICIDE. A negro man belonging to a Mr. Brown, who resides in the neighborhood of the North Mountain, committed suicide on Sunday last, by hanging himself. (4 April 1849)

Died, on Monday morning last, Mrs. ALEXANDER of this place, at an advanced age. (7 March 1849)

Died, on Thursday, 21st September, at the residence of his relation Mr. James Arbuckle in this vicinity ... Mr. Archibald S. ALEXANDER, of Augusta county. Lewisburg Chronicle. (25 October 1848)

Died, on the 7th inst., at the residence of her son-in-law, Mr. Jacob Stover, in Mt. Solon, Mrs. Elvira ALTAFFER, wife of Mr. Jacob Altaffer, of Naked Creek, Rockingham County, in about the 40th year of her age.—Register. (22 August 1849)

Died at the residence of Mr. Anthony D. Wren, in this place, on Saturday night last, (19th inst.,) Mrs. Abby H. (BAILEY), wife of Dr. T. W. Bailey, and daughter of Mr. David Brackin, of Trumbull county, Ohio ... had just entered on her twenty-first year, and had been but a few months married. (23 May 1849)

Died, in September last, at Houston, Miss. ... Mrs. Margaret BALDWIN ... wife of Cyrus B. Baldwin, Esq., formerly of this place. Mrs. B. left a daughter about two years old. (19 December 1849)

Departed this life in Buckhannon, Lewis county, Va., on the 12th day of June ... Mrs. Frances Jane BALSLEY ... daughter of Spottswood and Elizabeth Padgett, of Back Creek, Augusta, County, Va. ... born May 1826. May 5, 1846 ... she became the wife of William E. Balsley, and in the summer of 1847 they emigrated to Buckhannon ... has left an infant daughter and ... husband. Buckhannon, June 15, 1848. (21 June 1848)

Departed this life, in the town of Buchannon, Lewis county, Va., on the 20th of June, Mary Elizabeth (BALSLEY), infant daughter of Mr. William Balsly. But just returned from the tomb of the mother of this infant, Mr. B. has been called upon to consign to the ... grave, all that remained of his little family. (5 July 1848)

Died, on the 1st of July last, of diarrhoea, William Martin (BASKIN), aged 5 months, 3 weeks and 4 days—and on the 30th

of the same disease, Mary Estaline (BASKIN), aged 10 years, 5 months and 12 days, infant children of William W. and Margaret A. Baskin, of this county. (8 August 1849)

Died, on Wednesday last, near Hebron Church, George BAYLOR, sen., in the 74th year of his age. (12 January 1848)

Died, on Wednesday last, Cornelia (BEAR), infant daughter of David S. and Sarah F. Bear, of this town. (25 July 1849)

Died, on Thursday last, near New Hope ... Mrs. Margaret BEARD, wife of Mr. Wm. Beard. (19 September 1849)

Died, on Long Glade, on the 17th inst., in the 37th year of her age, Mrs. Eliza BELL, wife of Mr. Alexander Bell, of this county. (26 January 1848)

Died, on the 6th of June last ... James Washington (BERRY), aged 9 years, 6 months and 4 days,—and on Tuesday the 17th inst ... Cornelia Ann (BERRY), aged 4 years, 7 months and 10 days, infant children of Thornton and Rachel Berry, of this county. (25 July 1849)

Departed this life at his residence in Montgomery county, on the 15th of July, in the 94th year of his age, John BLACK, Esq. Mr. Black was a native of Augusta county and emigrated to the spot where he died, in the year 1777, a pioneer to our Mountain region ... In the Revolution, he was under the command of General William Campbell, (of King's Mountain (notoriety) and with him at the Treaty made with the Creek Indians at Long Island, in Tenn. ... was the father of a very large family, two of his sons died in the service of their country in the war of 1812. His aged widow and a numerous circle of decendants live to deplore his removal. Valley Whig. (29 August 1849)

Died, on Monday night the 2nd inst., Mr. John BOWLES, of this place, aged about 62 years. Mr. B. was a native of Ireland, and for many years a member of the Catholic Church. (19 December 1849)

Died, on the 25th ult., at Spring Hill, Augusta co., of Scarlet Fever, Sarah Catharine (BRADDY), aged 7 years; and on the 26th ult., Serena Lee (BRADDY), aged 5 years, only daughters of Andrew H. and Sarah A. Braddy, and granddaughters of Mr. Geo. Nicholson. (1 March 1848)

Died, at Midway, Virginia, on Saturday morning, the 16th inst., Mrs. Sarah A. BRADLEY, wife of Schuyler Bradley, Esq., in the 35th year of her age.... Ample testimony was given, of the high esteem in which she was held by the great congregation

which assembled at Mount Carmel Church, where she was buried, on Sabbath morning . . . left a husband and three children, one of which is an infant of three weeks old. (22 August 1849)

Died, on Sunday the 19th inst., Amanda Jane (BRADY), infant daughter of James and Amanda M. Brady, aged 2 years, 10 months and 9 days. (29 August 1849)

Died, on Sunday last, at her residence in Waynesboro', Anna BROWN, in the 79th year of her age. (3 October 1849)

Died, on Thursday the 28th ult., Miss Mary McDowell (BROWN), eldest daughter of Joseph Brown, Esq., late of Augusta county, Va., and now of St. Louis county, Mo., in the 21st year of her age. (9 and 16 February 1848)

Died, on the 25th inst., Mr. Samuel H. BROWN, of this place, in the 38th year of age . . . had been an invalid for some time . . . for the last six or seven years a . . . member of the M. Church . . . funeral sermon . . . at the Methodist E. Church . . . (leaves) Parents. (31 January 1849)

Died, on Tuesday morning the 30th ult., in Mt. Solon . . . Hannah Cornelia (BRYAN), infant daughter and only surviving child of Reuben and Caroline Bryan, aged 5 months and 24 days. (7 November 1894)

Died, in this place on Saturday the 11th instant, John Jasper BRYAN, aged 19 years and 2 months . . . was the eldest son of his mother . . . the prop of her declining years. (15 November 1848)

Died, on Saturday morning the 15th ult., in Mt. Solon, Sarah Elizabeth (BRYAN) only daughter of Reuben and Caroline Bryan, aged 14 years and 3 days. (2 August 1848)

Died, on Thursday morning, Oct. 18th, Mrs. Jane CALBREATH, wife of Capt. Thomas Calbreath of Augusta county. (24 October 1849) A striking specimen of the sterling christianity of the older Scotch Irish people . . . mother of a numerous family. (31 October 1849)

Departed this life on Tuesday, the 30th ultimo, in the 40th year of his age, Wm. B. CALHOON, second son of the Rev. Wm. Calhoon, of this county . . . has left a widow and four children . . . for 20 years a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church at Hebron. (7 June 1848)

Died, in this place, on Thursday last, John Wesley (CAMPBELL), infant son of George W. and Catharine Campbell. (5 July 1848)

Died, on Tuesday morning last . . . Mr. William H. CARROL, son of Mr. John Carrol, dec'd., in the 20th year of his age. (13 September 1848)

Died, in Harrisonburg, on the evening of the 7th inst., Mr. John S. CHRISMAN, in the 22d year of his age . . . was for several years a resident of Staunton. (17 January 1849)

Died, on the 29th ult., at the residence of his father near Deerfield, in this County, George Brown (CLAYTON), youngest son of Mr. John Clayton, in the 16th year of his age. (8 August 1849)

Died, at his residence on the Calf Pasture, near Deerfield, Va., on Wednesday the 26th of September last, Mr. John CLAYTON, in the 58th year of his age . . . for many years a . . . member of the Presbyterian Church of Rocky Spring, and constantly attended on every Wednesday evening, a prayer meeting at a School-house, near his residence. (7 November 1849)

Died, in this place, on Wednesday morning the 12th inst., Miss Harrietta COCHRAN, daughter of James A. Cochran, Esq., aged about 17 years. On the following day her remains were deposited in the burying ground at Churchville. (19 December 1849)

Died, at his residence in Clay county, Mo., on the 9th of May 1849 . . . John W. COCKRELL, son-in-law of George Mitchell, dec'd., of this county, in the 53d year of his age . . . attached himself to the United Baptist Church. (29 August 1849)

T. W. Lottier, charged with shooting W. B. COOK, on 15th of July, with intent to kill, has been sent on by the Mayor of Richmond for further examination . . . after lingering for several weeks, Cook died of wounds received. (12 September 1849)

Died, on the 29th ult., near Waynesboro', Mrs. Celestine COINER, wife of David D. Coiner. (3 October 1849)

Died, on Tuesday, Nov. 6th, at his residence at Milliken's Bend, La., Capt. James P. CRAIG, in the 52nd year of his age . . . native of Augusta County. (5 December 1849)

Died, in this place on Monday night last, Mrs. Magdalene CRAWFORD, wife of Benjamin Crawford, Esq. (23 and 30 May 1849)

Died, near this place, on the 30th ult., Michael (CRICKARD), infant son of Mr. Peter Crickard, aged 7 years. (6 June 1849)

Died, at his residence in Harrison county, Indiana, on the 9th of January last, Mr. Michael CRONE, aged 87 years . . .

formerly of Augusta county. (28 February 1849)

Died, at Rockland Mills, in this county, on the 4th inst., Elivra D. (CUPP), wife of John J. Cupp, and daughter of Pleasant A. and Isabella Clarke, of Rockingham,—aged 32 years, 5 months and 8 days. (24 January 1849)

Died,—On Friday evening last, Mr. Henry CURRIA, of this county, aged about 70 years. (9 May 1849)

Died. On Saturday the 26th ult., (..... DAGGY), a son of Mr. Jacob Daggy, on North River, in the vicinity of Mt. Solon, met his death in a mysterious manner.—He had gone to the stable ... to water his horses ... his mother ... found him lying near the heels of the horses and insensible ... aged about 18 years. (1 March 1848)

Died, on the 15th of October, in the 44th year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth DAVIS, consort of Mr. Braxton Davis, of this County ... member of the Presbyterian Church ... for more than 20 years. ... He will not forsake the orphan children of the pious mother. (7 November 1849)

Died, at Mt. Sidney, on the 22nd inst., after a long and painful illness, Mrs. Mary DIXSON, consort of Mr. Jno. Dixon, dec'd., aged 74 years. (28 February 1849)

Died, in Hopkins County, Kentucky, on Wednesday the 6th ult., Major Samuel DOWNEY, a Soldier of the Revolutionary War. Mr. D. was born in Augusta County, Virginia, in about 1765. (3 January 1849)

Died, in this town, on Tuesday evening the 6th inst., Mr. John W. DOYLE, aged about 30 years. His remains were attended to the grave by the Staunton Lt. Infantry, of which he had been a member. (14 February 1849)

Died, in this place, on Wednesday morning last ... Mr. Sampson EAGON, aged 80 years ... leaves behind a large family. (18 April 1849) Aged 80 years, 1 month and 23 days ... the son of a revolutionary soldier ... hardships of an orphan's lot ... served his apprenticeship in Hagerstown, Md., to the trade of a wagon-maker, and emigrated shortly after to this section of the country and married. In 1803 he ... joined the Methodist E. Church. (16 May 1849)

Died, at his residence, near Spring Hill, Augusta county, Christian ECHARD, aged about 43 years, leaving a widow and five children. (19 January 1848)

Died, on the 7th inst., Mrs. Mary ECKARD, consort of Mr. Philip Eckard, of this County. (22 August 1849)

Died, on the 23d of February last, of measles, William Henry (ENGLEMAN), son of Mr. Geo. Engleman, of this county, aged about 12 years. (9 May 1849)

Mrs. Amanda P. FACKLER ... died on Thursday evening the 20th instant, at the residence of her husband John N. Fackler, of this county, and formerly of Augusta county, Va., a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church ... she had her reward openly ... of her husband ... her children ... beloved as a sister and daughter ... no brother or sister near to perform the last solemn duties. Saline county, Jan. 21st, 1848 (Missouri paper) (5 April 1848)

Died, at his residence in Marshal County, Miss., on Thursday the 27th of April, Mr. John T. FINLEY, son of Samuel Finley, esq., of Augusta county, and formerly of Rockbridge county.—Lex. Gaz. (24 May 1848)

Died, on Saturday, the 5th inst. at his residence near Greenville, in this County, Samuel FINLEY, Esq., in the 74th year of his age ... born in Pennsylvania and at the age of 19 engaged in mercantile business in that State. He shortly after removed to Virginia and was for many years a merchant in ... Greenville, where he was also Post-Master and kept a house of entertainment. For many years past, however, he has lived retired on a farm ... joined the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania. (16 May 1849)

At a meeting of Staunton Lodge, No. 13 (?), held at the Masons' Hall, on Wednesday the 20th day of September, A. D., 1848, it was communicated to the Lodge, that Brother W. F. FOSTER, of Norfolk, had arrived in Staunton on the 17th inst., on his way home from the Virginia Springs, in an exceedingly feeble stage of health ... were unapprised of his presence ... until a few hours preceding his death. (27 September 1848)

Died, in this place, on Wednesday night last ... Mr. Edward FULTON, aged about 55 years ... was a native of Augusta county ... but had been for many years, a resident of this county. Abingdon Virginian, May 12. (23 May 1849)

Died in Waynesborough, at the residence of her son Dr. Fulton, on Saturday the 25th inst., Mrs. Elizabeth FULTON, widow of the late Andrew Fulton, in the 92nd year of her age. (29 November 1848) Was born in ... 1755, and departed this life on the 26th of November, in the 93d year of age. She was married about 1784 by the Rev. Dr. James Waddell.—She was ... the mother of the late John H. Fulton, formerly a repre-

sentative in Congress from the Abingdon District, and also the Hon. And. S. Fulton, the present representative of the same District . . . Her husband, one of the noble patriots of the revolution, has been gathered to his fathers for more than 30 years . . . a member of the Presbyterian Church at Tinkling Spring. (6 December 1848)

Departed this life on the 11th inst., Mrs. Elizabeth G. GAMBLE, wife of Theophilus Gamble, Esq., Augusta county, Va., in the 37th year of her age . . . member of the Mossy Creek Church, and, after her marriage . . . a member of the Augusta Church. (28 February 1849)

Samuel GILMER, aged eighty-seven years and ten months, a soldier of the Revolution, died at his residence in the county of Highland, Va., on the 25th day of January, 1848 . . . born in the State of Pennsylvania, Lancaster county.—At the age of about fourteen, his father removed to the State of Virginia, Augusta county, bringing his son with him. In the time of the Revolutionary war with England, he enlisted . . . in the army; perhaps he was then about sixteen or eighteen years old . . . fought under the command of Col. Bluford at Waxaw Settlement, Hanging Rock, State of South Carolina . . . was wounded and mangled in a terrible manner . . . at thirty-nine he married, and raised a small family of two children,—one son and one daughter,—and lived some part of his lifetime in the county of Rockingham, Va. In . . . 1826 he removed to the county of Bath, having purchased a large and valuable tract of land, which he divided between his two children . . . on which they now live, and on one of which he died. Rock'm Register. (22 March 1848)

Died, at his residence near Deerfield, on Monday the 4th inst., after a protracted illness, Mr. Joseph GOENS, sr., in the 75th year of his age. (20 December 1848)

Died, in this place, on Thursday morning last, Mr. Alexis M. GORDON, aged about 24 years. He was interred with military honors by the Staunton Light Infantry of which Company he was a member. (6 June 1849)

Died on Saturday morning last, Miss Frances (GROVE), daughter of Mr. Wm. Grove, sen., in the 15th year of her age. (24 January 1849)

If apology were needed for our scanty editorial the present week, it might be found in the shock to our feelings, in common with the whole community, occasioned by the sudden and melan-

choly death of Alex. S. HALL, Esq. . . to show the extent of public confidence . . . Mr. Hall was Treasurer to five different institutions and associations. Tribute of Respect, The Merchants of Staunton . . . one of the oldest and most respected of our fraternity . . . death . . . in consequence of a fall from his horse, on his way to Scottsville, upon business connected with the Staunton and James River Turnpike Company. Tribute of Respect, Common Council of the Town of Staunton . . . Alexander S. Hall, Esq., Chamberlain of the Corporation. (29 August 1849)

Died, at New Hope, on the morning of the 27th ult., Lee Kennerley (HANGER), son of Robinson and Virginia Hanger, aged two years and seven months . . . On last Saturday evening whilst playing with his little sister, he fell head foremost, into a vessel of strong ley. 4 April 1849)

Died, near Deerfield, of Scarlet Fever, on the 24th of February last, Mary Amanda (HARLAN), only daughter of John and Sarah Harlan, aged 9 years and 2 months. (29 March 1848)

Died, on Friday last, Mrs. Lucy HARLOW, consort of Mr. Wm. Harlow, of this place, in the year of her age. (25 April 1849)

Died, in Waynesborough, on Monday morning the 10th after an illness of four days, Charles W. (HARRIS), son of Mrs. Mary W. Harris, aged 10 years, 5 months and 10 days. (27 June 1849)

SUICIDE.—A young man named Hugh HARRIS committed suicide in Waynesboro', on Thursday night last, by taking opium . . . a native of Eastern Virginia but had lived in Waynesboro', for several years. (10 October 1849)

Died, on Thursday last, at his residence near Greenville, John HAWPE, Sr., in the 90th year of his age. (25 July 1849)

Died, at her residence near Staunton, Augusta county, Va., on Friday the 23rd day of March . . . Mrs. Hannah HENDERSON, relict of the late Robert Henderson, dec'd., aged near 68 years . . . connected herself with Hebron Church . . . and remained . . . with the same Church near forty years . . . left a large family of children. (28 March 1849)

Died, on the 18th of October last, at San Francisco, California, Alexander B. HEISKELL, son of Porterfield A. Heiskell, Esq., of this County. He was one of the Company that went out in the Marianna from Richmond last Spring . . . In the delirium which preceeded his death, one only of his distant relatives seem-

ed to occupy his thoughts—that one was his mother. (19 December 1849)

Departed this life on Sunday the 25th of June, at his residence near Middlebrook, Mr. Christian HESS, aged 71 years ... kind and indulgent father, an affectionate husband ... member of the "German Reformed Church," and for the last seven or eight years of his life, filled acceptably the office of Ruling Elder in the congregation at St. John's Church, in this county. (12 July 1848)

Died, at Point Pleasant, Mason county, Va., on the 1st ult., Mr. James HOGG, formerly of Augusta county ... a volunteer in the late war with Mexico. (3 January 1849)

Died, near Mt. Sidney, on Saturday the 15th inst., after a short but severe illness, Kenton Harper HOSHOUR, son of D. D. and Rebecca J. Hoshour, aged 19 months and 28 days. (19 April 1848)

Departed this life on the 14th ult., Mr. Benjamin HOUFF, in the 71st year of his age. His father moved to Rockingham County in 1776. In 1806, and not long after his first marriage, the deceased moved to Augusta County. Of seventeen children, fourteen yet live ... Nearly fifty-three years ago he became a member of the Lutheran Church. (2 May 1849)

Died, near Parnassus, on the morning of the 8th ult., Miss Esteline Susan (HOWELL), daughter of Alfred Howell, in the 20th year of her age. (7 February 1849)

Died, in this place, on Saturday evening last, Mrs. Letitia A. HUFF, wife of Mr. Franklin H. Huff, and daughter of Mr. John Jennings. (8 March 1848)

Died, on the 20th of September, at the residence of his father near Greenville, Augusta county, Va., the Rev. David C. HUMPHRIES, aged 31 years ... born and brought up in the congregation of Bethel, of which his father has for many years been a Ruling Elder. During a revival of religion in this church in ... 1833, at age of 16 he made a public profession of religion. He prosecuted a course of liberal studies at Washington College in Lexington ... and studied Divinity at the Union Theological Seminary ... licensed to preach ... in August, 1846, by the Lexington Presbytery ... began to labor ... in the county of Appomattox. (8 November 1848)

Died, on the 22d day of September, Mrs. Margaret HUMPHRIES, aged 96 years ... the grandmother of the above named David D. Humphries ... born in the year 1751, in Chester county,

Pennsylvania, but while very young removed into Adams county. Her maiden name was Finley.—Her father was brother to President Finley, of the College of New Jersey. She was bereaved of her mother at the age of twelve years. At the age of 17 ... she made a public profession of religion in the Presbyterian Church She married Mr. David Humphries, and the age of 19 removed to Virginia, and has resided in the bounds of what is now the Church of Bethel ... brought up a large and respectable family, lived 22 years as a widow, and now rests beside the remains of her husband. (8 November 1848)

Died, at his residence near Deerfield, on Friday the 21st, Mr. James HUNTER, sen., in the 72d year of his age. (26 July 1848) Had been a member of the Methodist E. Church ... (leaves) aged companion ... children. (2 August 1848)

Died, at his residence on South River, Augusta co., Mr. Samuel HUNTER ... in the 73d year of his age. (24 October 1849) Member of the Presbyterian Church. (31 October 1849)

Died, near Mt. Sidney, on the 28th ult., Mrs. Mary C. HYDE, wife of Mr. Charles Hyde, and daughter of the late Wm. W. Miller, of this county, in the 31st year of her age. (18 April 1849)

Died, within 2 hours of each other near Mt. Sidney, on Monday the 19th ult., of Chronic Croup, Mary Nancy (HYDE) and Wm. Allison (HYDE), children of Mr. Charles K. Hyde—the former aged 10 years, 11 months and 19 days, the latter 6 years and 13 days. (12 December 1849)

Died, at a very advanced age, on Friday the 29th ult., Mr. Joseph HYDEN, a respectable citizen of this county. (3 January 1849)

The Valley Star notices the sudden death of Mr. Henry IMBODEN, formerly a citizen of this place, at his residence near Lexington, on Saturday morning the 15th inst. He was found dead lying between his house and barn, having been apparently well a few minutes before. (26 December 1849)

Died—At his residence, near Bridgewater, Rockingham co., on the 29th of March, 1848, Mr. Jacob C. IRVINE, in the 76th year of his age ... ruling Elder of the Presbyterian Church of Mossy Creek. (17 May 1848)

Chapman JOHNSON is no more! He died at his residence in Richmond on the 12th inst. (p. 2) Mr. Johnson became a resident of the town of Staunton more than forty years ago ... many years ago a member of our municipal councils, and the representative

of the District of which Augusta formed a part in the Senate of Virginia. More than twenty years ago he removed to Richmond. . . . He remained a freeholder of our county up to the period of his death. . . . In 1829 . . . the people of Augusta called him to take a seat as their representative in the Convention which framed our present State Constitution. (p. 3) (18 July 1849) Another Tribute of Respect. (25 July 1849)

Died,—in this county, on Saturday the 21st ult., of Dropsy, Mrs. Catharine KELLER, wife of Geo. Keller, sen., aged upwards of 70 years. (9 May 1849)

Died, on the 27th March, near the Valley Mills, in this county, Mary Eveline (KELLER), daughter of Samuel and Catharine Keller, aged 12 years, 3 months and 27 days. (25 April 1849)

Died, on Wednesday the 29th of August, at the residence of his father, Mr. Samuel KELLER, aged 23 years and 12 days. (6 September 1848)

Died, on the 2nd inst., at his residence in this place . . . Mr. John KENNEDY, aged about 65 years. (7 November 1849)

Died, at his residence, in this county, on Saturday last, Mr. Philip KOINER, sen., aged 72 years . . . died suddenly of dropsy in the chest. (19 September 1849)

Seventy-two deaths occurred in our Army at Perote, from the 31st of October to the 31st of December . . . we regret to see the name of our former townsman, Mr. William KURTZ. (16 February 1848)

Died, on Sunday evening last, William Issac (KURTZ), infant son of Adam H. Kurtz, aged 1 year and 8 months. (11 October 1848)

Died, on Friday, April 6th, at Green Meadows, in the 47th year of her age, Mrs. Catharine KYLE, wife of Robert M. Kyle, Esq., and daughter of Capt. Estill, of Augusta. Rockingham Register. (18 April 1849)

Died, in this place on the 27th of June . . . William Joseph (KYLE), son of William and Felicia Kyle, aged 1 year, 11 months and 3 days. (4 July 1849)

Died, at the residence of Mr. Abraham Lamb of this county, on the 27th of July, (aged about 5 months,) Elizabeth Adeline (LAMB), only child of William and Eliza Lamb. (16 August 1848)

Died, on the 27th of October, at her residence near Deerfield, Augusta County . . . Mrs. Ann LANGE, wife of Mr. Abra-

ham Lange, in the 42nd year of her age. . . . Her loss is a severe one to her children as they are young . . . one being only a few hours old. (7 November 1849)

Died, at the residence of her son, Mr. Abraham Lange, near Deerfield, on Thursday the 5th inst., at an advanced age, Mrs. Mary LANGE, widow of the late Capt. Abraham Lange. (18 July 1849)

Died, at the residence of her father near Deerfield, on the 7th inst., Maria Louisa (LANGE), third daughter of Mr. David Lange, aged 9 years, 10 months and 5 days. (19 September 1849)

Died, at the residence of her father near Deerfield, on Thursday the 13th inst., Mary Angeline (LANGE), fourth daughter of Mr. David Lange, aged 7 years and 13 days. (19 September 1849)

Departed this life on Tuesday the 18th inst., Mrs. Catharine LAWRENCE, aged about 80 years . . . for many years . . . belonged to the Tinkling Spring Congregation. (26 April 1848)

Died, on Sunday morning the 19th inst., at her residence near Greenville . . . Mrs. Hannah LOGAN, wife of Mr. William Logan, and daughter of Mr. George Hudson. (29 August 1849)

Died, at her residence near Greenville, in this county, on the 16th inst., Mrs. Rachael LOGAN, widow of the late John Logan, aged 75 years. (26 December 1849)

Died, last week . . . Mr. Abraham LONG, aged about 20 years. (14 February 1849)

Died, in Middlebrook, on the 17th of June, Elizabeth Virginia S. (LOWMAN), youngest daughter of W. O. and Sarah Lowman, aged 5 years. (12 July 1848)

Died, suddenly, on Sunday evening, the 17th inst., Mr. Barney MAGRUDER, aged about 45 years. (20 December 1848)

Died, on Christian's Creek . . . June 30th . . . Alexander Hamilton (MARKWOOD), only son of Rufus M. and Ann Markwood, aged 4 months and 28 days. (12 July 1848)

Died, on Sunday the 8th of Oct., 1848 . . . in the 28th year of her age, Mrs. Ann MARKWOOD, consort of Rufus M. Markwood. (18 October 1848)

Died, at his residence in Pendleton County, Va., on the 3d instant, Mr. Michael MAUZEY, s., aged 71 years and 4 months . . . for many years a resident of Augusta County. (12 January 1848)

Died, near this place, on Saturday last . . . Mrs. Isabella McALEAR, wife of Mr. Michael McAlear, aged about 25 years. (6 June 1849)

Died, on Saturday night 27th ult., Patrick (McALEAR), son of Michael and Ann McAlear, in the 3d year of his age. (7 February 1849)

Died, on the 27th ult., at the residence of her father near Mt. Sidney, of Consumption, Miss Amanda M. McCAUSLAND, in the 21st year of her age. (14 March 1849)

Died, at the residence of her father, near Mt. Sidney, Augusta county . . . on the 28th ult., in the 27th year of her age, Martha Ann McCAUSLAND, eldest daughter of Andrew B. and the late Mary C. McCausland. . . Having witnessed the death of a mother and three sisters in the sort space of eight months . . . the announcement was too severe for her delicate Constitution. — Harrisonburg Republican. (12 September 1849)

Died, on the 20th of December last, at the residence of her husband, in this county, Mrs. Mary C. McCAUSLAND, wife of A. B. McCausland, in the 40th year of her age. (24 January 1849)

Died, on the 1st inst., Miss Sarah M. McCAUSLAND, in the 13th year of her age . . . (of consumption). (14 March 1849)

Died, on Thursday the 9th inst., at the residence of Mr. H. M. Darnall, in Waynesboro', Mr. Andrew McCLELLAN, aged 69 years . . . a native of Ireland, and came to this country at the age of 21. For many years he was a citizen of Harrisonburg. . . The last years of his life were passed at Waynesboro' . . . for many years a member of the Presbyterian Church. Vindicator. (22 August 1849)

Died, at his residence near Middlebrook, on Thursday the 29th of June last, Mr. William McCUTCHEN . . . the last, except two, it is believed, of all the Revolutionary Soldiers in this end of the county. He lived to a good old age, and died full of years . . . near his ninetieth year . . . has left a large family . . . consistent professor of Religion. (12 July 1848)

Died, at his residence in this place, on Saturday evening (20th instant) Mr. John McDOWELL, aged 78 years, 6 months and 20 days . . . one of our oldest citizens . . . had spent the greater part of his life in this place and vicinity . . . a merchant . . . survived his family, having buried his amiable wife about four years ago. (24 January 1849) Tribute of Respect. (31 January 1849)

Died, on Saturday the 3rd inst., of Croup, Martha Ann (McFALL), second daughter of William and Susannah McFall, aged 4 years and 13 days. (21 November 1849)

Died, at Mt. Solon, on Thursday evening the 25th of May, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann (McGUFFIN), wife of Mr. J. L. McGuffin, in the 19th year of her age . . . attached herself to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. (14 June 1848)

Died, on the 9th of August, at Nashville, Tenn., Mrs. Sally McINTOSH, widow of the late Dr. George Grant McIntosh, in the 75th year of her age. (13 September 1848) At the residence of her son-in-law, Mr. Samuel D. Morgan. . . The place of her birth, (Winchester, Va.,) together with that of her youthful days, (Staunton, of the same State,) were both endeared to her . . . the latter peculiarly so, by her union in marriage . . . her name being that of Sally Wetzell, was changed to that of McIntosh, by her marriage with Dr. McIntosh, an eminent Scotch physician, educated at Edinburgh, and induced to emigrate to America by his medical class-mate and friend, the late Dr. Samuel Brown . . . became united with the Presbyterian Church at Staunton. . . Left a widow with two children, while the youngest (Matilda,) was too young to feel that she was fatherless, she eventually upon the marriage of that only daughter with Mr. S. D. Morgan . . . first resided with them . . . at Huntsville, Ala., and more recently . . . in this city . . . (was a) grand-mother. Christian (Nashville, Tenn.) Record. (20 September 1848)

Died, on the 30th ult., Catharine Jane (MELROSE), infant daughter of Adam and Elizabeth Melrose, of this place. (7 February 1849)

Died, at Cincinnati (O,) on the 12th day of June last, Mrs. Sally A. MILLS, wife of the Rev. Thornton A. Mills, in the thirty-third year of her age . . . a daughter of Judge Menzies of Boon county, Ky., and the Grand-daughter of Michael Garber deceased of this place. (25 July 1849)

Died, in this place, on Thursday last, Mrs. M'NALLY, wife of Mr. Patrick M'Nally. (22 November 1848)

Died, on Wednesday last . . . Benjamin Howard MORRIS, of this town, about 28 years of age. (7 June 1848)

Died, on Saturday evening last, within twenty minutes after the reception of the contents of a pistol fired by Thomas D. Murray—Capt. B. NEWMAN, a citizen of this place, and in full vigor of manhood. (24 May 1848)

Died, near Waynesborough, on the 25th of January, Jeremiah ODD ... aged 65 years ... uncommonly charitable to the poor ... a member of the Church of his native country England, and had resided in this country 45 or 50 years. (14 February 1849)

Died, in Brownsburg on Tues. the 23d ult., Mrs. Margaret F. (PATTERSON), wife of Mr. A. Patterson, and daughter of Mr. David Gilkeson of Augusta county ... two infant daughters ... has the second time widowed the heart of a kind husband ... with a heart still bleeding for the lose of a ... daughter ... only a few months ago instantly killed by a fall from a horse. Valley Star. (14 June 1848)

Died, on the 19th inst., at the residence of his nephew, Mr. Matthew Pilson, near Greenville ... John PILSON, Esq., aged 77. (22 December 1848). Born in this county, but spent some 40 years of his life in Albemarle county, where he was for sometime engaged in mercantile business ... for the last 50 years a member of the Presbyterian Church and for about 28 years a Ruling Elder. He first joined the Church of Tinkling Spring, but transferred his relation to the Church of Lebanon, in Albemarle county. About three years since he came to reside in the family of his nephew ... and transferred his membership to the Church of Bethel, and was also there elected a Ruling Elder. ... His late pastor and friend, Rev. Samuel W. Blain, testified at his funeral ... he had never heard a word derogatory to his character. (3 January 1849)

Died, on the 25th ult., at his residence near Fishersville, in this county, John PORTERFIELD, Esq., aged about 60 years. (4 April 1849)

Died, on Sunday evening last, John Stevenson (QUINLAN), infant son of Mr. Michael Quinlan, of this town (10 January 1849)

Died, on the 23d inst., of consumption, aged 39 years — Nancy (QUINLAN), wife of M. Quinlan, Esq. (28 February 1849)

Died, at Middlebrook, on Sunday morning, the 25th of March, Mrs. Mary J. RANDOLPH, wife of John Randolph, Esq., in the 52nd year of her age ... native of Ireland ... removed to this county with her parents in early life ... husband and children. (4 April 1849)

Died, on Thursday last ... at his residence near Naked Creek, in this county, Mr. Jas. S. RANKIN, aged about 55 years.

We understood the day on which the deceased died was the day set for his marriage. (8 August 1849) The story that was set afloat about his having an engagement to be married on the day he died, or any other day ... is untrue, and there is strong evidence ... that it was fabricated by a combination of scoundrels, during his illness ... to prejudice the mind of an only child (.... a daughter,) against her dying father and that father's friends ... to prevent the aforesaid scoundrels from swindling the girl out of the estate. Armstrong Rankin. Augusta Co., August 11, 1849. (15 August 1849)

Died, in Richmond, on the 29th of July, Mrs. Mary Ann REINS, consort of Charles W. Reins, and daughter of the late Absalom H. Brooks, of this place. (16 August 1848)

Died, at Deerfield, on Wednesday the 29th ult., Sarah Ann Jane (RHODES), only daughter of James H. and Rebecca Rhodes, aged 5 years, 7 months and 14 days. (20 December 1848)

Died, at the Residence of his father's on the Long Meadows in this County ... Mr. DeWit C. ROBERTSON, aged about 20 years. (28 March 1849)

Died in Nelson county, on the inst., Mr. William ROBINSON, one of the Augusta Volunteers. (29 November 1848)

Died, on the 26th ult., after a protracted and painful illness, Mrs. Sarah M. RUFFNER, wife of Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., aged 61 years. (7 February 1849)

Died, on the 20th instant, (RUSMISELL), infant daughter of William and Frances S. Rusmisell. (10 May 1848)

Died, in this town, on Thursday last, Mrs. Mary SAUPE, wife of Mr. C. H. Saupe. (16 February 1848)

Died ... at the residence of her husband, John Sheets, sr., on the 28th of January last, in the 60th year of her age, Mrs. Sarah SHEETS ... member of the Presbyterian Church ... large family. (16 February 1848)

Died, on the 21st of December, 1847, Mary Montgomery (SHELTON), aged 6 months and 21 days, infant child of Dr. Thomas, and Mary Shelton. (19 January 1848)

Died, on Friday the 5th of May, Mrs. Mary R. Shelton, wife of Dr. Thomas W. Shelton of Augusta, and daughter of Rev. James C. Willson, formerly the esteemed Pastor of Tinkling Spring Church ... in the 28th year of her age. ... Near the close of last year, she was bereaved of an infant, the second which had

been taken from her ... leaving ... husband, and one daughter. (17 May 1848)

Died, on the 9th *July 1844*, Susan Mildred (SHELTON), infant daughter of Dr. Thomas and Mary Shelton, aged 15 months and 17 days. (19 January 1848)

Died, at her residence, on the 27th of October, in the 34th year of her age, Mrs. Julia A. SHICKLE, wife of the Rev. Peter Shickle ... three young and interesting children. (15 November 1848)

Died, On the 26th ultimo, at the residence of her father, near Churchville, in the 21st year of her age, Mrs. Anna Jane SHUEY, consort of Mr. Lewis H. Shuey, and daughter of Mr. John Smith ... (member of) Church of the United Brethren in Christ ... united in marriage only about five months. (6 September 1848)

Died, on Wednesday last ... Miss Rebecca Ann SILLING, eldest daughter of William Silling, jr., of this county, aged nearly 25 years. (3 May 1848)

Died, on Thursday night last, at the Blue Sulphur Springs, Mrs. Ann SMITH, wife of Joseph Smith, Esq., of this county. The remains of Mrs. S. were brought to this place for interment ... on Monday evening last. (29 August 1849) In the 64th year of her age. (19 September 1849)

Martha Ann SNELLING, an adopted daughter of Mr. Jacob Nebergall, aged about 9 years, was drowned near Spring Hill, in this county, on Tuesday evening the 23d instant ... was returning from school ... when they were overtaken by a very heavy fall of rain, which filled every ravine in the road leading to their home. (31 May 1848)

Departed this life in Henrico county, on the 16th ult., Mr. Henry SPECK, at the advance age of nearly 90 years ... native of Pennsylvania, though long since, an inhabitant of this State, for many years a resident of Augusta county. Banner of Temperance. (8 August 1849)

Died, in Tazewell county, Va., on the 18th ultimo, Mr. George SPOTTS, formerly a citizen of this county. (12 April 1848)

Died, at his residence near Middlebrook, on Monday night the 21st inst. John SPROUL, Esq., one of the most ... respectable farmers in our County ... member of Bethel Church. (30 May 1849)

Died, in Churchville, on the 16th instant, Adam Hendren

(STOVER), son of John G. and Evaline R. Stover, aged 8 months, 3 weeks and 5 days. (22 November 1848)

Died, in Mt. Solon, Augusta county, on Tuesday the 4th inst., of puerperal fever, Mrs. Columbia STOVER, wife of Mr. Jacob Stover, and daughter of Mr. John Altaffer, of Rockingham county, in the 2(?)d year of her age. — Rock. Register. (12 September 1849)

Died, near this place, on Saturday last, Magnus (STRIBLING), infant son of Mr. J. K. Stribling, aged about th..... (20 June 1849)

Our community has been ... painfully agitated by the death of ... Miss Maria Louisa Stribling. (12 January 1848)

Died, near Mt. Sidney, on the 30th Dec. last, Lewis (STUART), infant son of Charles A. and Phebe A. Stuart, aged 16 months. (5 January 1848)

Died,—On Tuesday last, Mr. John SWARTZELL, of this county, aged 73 years, 2 months and 19 days. (16 May 1849)

Died, on the 1st instant, at the Augusta Springs, Cicero Gillum (SWINK), son of Madison Swink, aged 4 years. (10 May 1848)

Died, on the 31st of July ... Mrs. Susan SWORTZAL, relict of Mr. John Swortzal, aged 65 years, 10 months and 15 days. (15 August 1849)

Died, on the morning of the 27th ult., of organic disease of the heart, Francis Marion (SYRCLE), eldest son of Mr. Jno. R. Syrcle, of this county, aged 17 years, 2 months and 28 days. (11 and 18 April 1849)

It is less than six years since the subject of this notice, Mrs. Mary A. C. TAYLOR, wife of Mr. David Taylor of Rockbridge and the youngest daughter of James McDowell and Hannah Moffett ... was married ... on yesterday the 19th instant her mortal remains were deposited ... at Timber Ridge Church ... remembered by many in her native County, Augusta ... united herself to the Presbyterian Church ... two ... children ... aged and deeply afflicted mother, bereaved husband, surviving brothers and sisters. (29 March 1848)

Died, at her residence near this place, on Monday night last, Mr. Susan P. TAYLOR, widow of the Hon. Wm. Taylor, dec'd—Valley Star. (25 April 1849)

Died, at Columbia, Tenn., on Sunday, the 15th August, in the 39th year of her age, Mrs. Margaret THOMAS, consort of the Hon. James H. Thomas, representative in Congress from that

State ... daughter of the Rev. Daniel Stephens, D. D., at one time past of the Episcopal Church in this place ... seven children. (19 December 1849)

Died, in this county, on Thursday the 17th instant ... at the residence of his brother, James Trimble, Sen., Mr. Wm. TRIMBLE, *Sen.*, aged 66 years, 7 months and 13 days. (30 May 1849)

MELANCHOLY SUICIDE. On the 6th of April last a young man calling himself Richard TURNER came to this place and sought employment as a saddler, He was received into the shop of Mr. C. H. Ball and applied himself to work until Tuesday the 24th ... purchased two drachms of opium at the drug store of Messrs. Eskridge and Kinney ... was seen eating it on the street ... arrested ... committed to jail for the purpose of enforcing restorative means ... stated that he had been disappointed in a love affair ... death ... on Wednesday ... between twenty-five and thirty years of age ... born in Quebec, of Irish parents ... in early boyhood he resided in Newark, New Jersey, and was sent ... to Augusta, Georgia, where he served his time at the saddling business ... lived ... short time, in Knoxville, Tennessee ... recently he had been engaged in giving lessons in drawing in Eastern Virginia. (2 May 1849)

Died, on Tuesday the 11th inst., Mrs. Cornelia WADDELL, youngest daughter of Judge J. T. Lomax, of Fredericksburg, and wife of Dr. Alex. Waddell of Staunton ... has resided among us just long enough to be well known ... joined ... the Episcopal Church, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. McGuire, of Fredericksburg ... in the 25th year of her age. (19 January 1848)

Died, on Sunday morning last, after a life of suffering, Virginia (WADDELL), youngest daughter of L. Waddell, esq. (3 May 1848)

A Mrs. WHITLOCK, who resided near Mt. Sidney, in this County, committed suicide on Friday night, the 17th inst., by throwing herself into a well ... was laboring under mental derangement. (22 August 1849)

Died, near this place, on Friday night last, Miss Eliza J. WHITLOCK, aged about 14 years. (22 August 1849)

Died, at her residence in Augusta County, on Sunday the 18th of June, Mrs. Sally WHITLOCK, consort of Mr. Braxton Whitlock, in the 53rd year of her age ... an acceptable member of the Methodist E. *Chuch*. (12 July 1848)

Died, in this place, on Wednesday morning last, Mr. James WILLSON, at an advanced age ... blind for many years. (22 November 1848)

Died, at his residence in this county, on the 31st of August, Mr. Geo. WILSON, in the 75th year of his age. (19 September 1849) Member of the Presbyterian Church of Hebron, and one of the most influential and efficient members of Session. (3 October 1849)

Died, on Sunday the 24th ult., at her residence near Spring Hill ... Mrs. Mary WILSON. ... In her death a fond husband has lost a ... wife, and her seven infant children a ... mother. (3 January 1849)

Died, on the 26th ult., at his residence on Middle River, in this County, Matthew WILSON, Sr., aged about 80 years ... for the last 24 years ... a Ruling Elder in the Church of Bethel. (14 March 1849)

Inscription on a monument in Glebe Burying Ground ... Augusta County. "Here lys the interred body of Col. John WILLSON, who departed this life, in the year of our Lord, 1773, in the 72d year of his age, having served his country 27 y'rs a Representative in the honourable house of Burgiesis in Virginia, &tc." (On the same below:) "Likewise the interred body of Martha his well beloved wife, who departed this life July 10, 1775, in the LX year of her age." Col. John Willson was one of the early Scotch Irish settlers, resided at his plantation, on the Middle river, where lived and died last year, his grandson, Mr. Matthew WILLSON, sen., Elder in Bethel Congregation, at the age of upwards of fourscore. (12 December 1849)

Beginning with the August 18, 1847 issue of the Staunton *Spectator and General Advertiser*, the paper was published on Wednesday of each week instead of Thursday.

OLD HOMES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY

"MOUNTAIN TOP INN"

A popular Spot More Than a Century Ago.

by Gladys B. Clem

Just east of Waynesboro when the summit of the Blue Ridge Mts. was bulldozed for Interstate 64 the site of a famous landmark was covered over in the process.

Only an old brochure, describing its healthful properties and numerous conveniences, providentially came to the attention of the late Robert W. Harvill, Sr., who had copies of this antique advertising material published for the present generation of vacationers.



Few can recall the old stone building that nestled in the mountain pass just a stone's throw from the present entrances to two modern motels and restaurants.

The old Inn owed its fame to an important conference held there in August of 1818 when twenty-one of Virginia's most

distinguished citizens met to decide the location of the proposed State University. President James Monroe, former Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and other prominent men in the State's affairs, were appointed to decide the issue.

It was a warm summer day and the group met in the dining room where they could spread their necessary papers out on the long dining table. Three sites were under consideration, Staunton, Lexington and Charlottesville. It was Thomas Jefferson, with his popularity and understanding of Virginia's educational needs who won his point.

He is said to have produced a list of octogenarians living in the Charlottesville area as proof of its healthy location, besides already being the site of Central College. Two votes were cast for Staunton, three for Lexington and the remainder for Charlottesville site, that would be afterwards known as the University of Virginia.

The original building of the old Inn was a squat stone structure, known as Rockfish Inn. During the great migration to the west, following the Revolution, Rockfish Gap was one of the main passes over the Blue Ridge and the tavern became well known, as it was the only wayside accommodation for miles around.

When travel became more popular improvements were made bringing the old stone structure up to the standards required by the traveling public of that day. It was also given a new name, Mountain Top Inn. Walls of the older building were incorporated in the newer one. Wings were extended, porches added and cottages and dependencies built. The several springs were channeled into a small lake.

It was in the ante-bellum era that Mt. Top Inn enjoyed its most colorful and popular period. Families from the east on their way to spending the summer at the "White," "Old Sweet" or "Warm Springs" — a social must at that time — made it a popular stopping place before the long trip across Shenandoah Valley. A doting and ambitious Mama, with several marriageable daughters, found "summering at the springs" an excellent way to secure desirable sons-in-law. A moonlit lake, numerous shady paths and other romantic aids always helped the situation to a final solution.

During the construction of the Virginia Central Railroad (later Chesapeake and Ohio and Amtrak) temporary tracks were laid over the pass on a route that practically follows the present — day U. S. 250.

Autumn had touched the higher ridges of the mountains with color, when General Robert E. Lee spent the night of September 17, 1865 there, on his way to Lexington to assume the Presidency of Washington College, which later was to become Washington and Lee University.

On April 4, 1909, a hazy and cloudy day, Mountain Top Inn was destroyed by fire, leaving only the stonewalls that had stood since 1770 with its memories of the past century and the colorful events that had taken place there.

IN MEMORIAM

Mr. Thomas G. Hawpe

Miss Eleanor L. White

NEW MEMBERS

since October 1979

Mr. and Mrs. Harold Armstrong, Churchville, Virginia

Mr. and Mrs. James G. Collier III, Waynesboro, Virginia

Mr. Clyde F. Conner, Stuarts Draft, Virginia

Mr. James Cornell, Yakima, Washington

Mr. Edward L. Critzer, Richmond, Virginia

Mrs. Francis J. Denapoli, Williamsport, Pennsylvania

Mrs. Betty Dively, Verona, Virginia

Mr. and Mrs. Carl C. Fox, Staunton, Virginia

Sgt. Homer A. Gregory, Jr., APO New York

Mr. and Mrs. N. Carroll Gynn, Staunton, Virginia

Mrs. W. E. LeBow, Arlington, Virginia

Miss Lula M. Miller, Bridgewater, Virginia

Dr. and Mrs. H. Lynn Moore, Jr., Staunton, Virginia

Mrs. Thomas H. Tretheway, Warren, Michigan